Tho: Cremer

Clavi Trabales;

OR

NAILES FASTNED *by some Great* MASTERS *of* ASSEMBLYES.

Confirming

The KINGS SUPREMACY.

The SUBJECTS Duty.

Church Government by BISHOPS.

The Particulars of which are as followeth

I. *Two* Speeches *of the late* LORD PRIMATE USHERS.
The one of the Kings Supremacy,
The other of the Duty of Subjects to supply the Kings Necessities.

II. *His* Judgment *and* Practice *in Point of* Loyalty, Episcopacy, Liturgy *and* Constitutions *of the* Church of England,

III. *Mr.* HOOKERS Judgment *of the* Kings Power *in matters of* Religion, *advancement of* Bishops *&c.*

IV. *Bishop* ANDREWS *of* Church-Government *&c. both confirmed and enlarged by the said* PRIMATE.

V. *A Letter of* Dr HADRIANUS SARAVIA *of the like* Subjects.

Unto which is added a *Sermon* of REGAL POVVER, and the *Novelty* of the DOCTRINE of RESISTANCE,

Also a *Preface* by the Right Reverend Father in God, the *Lord Bishop of* LINCOLNE.

Published by Nicholas Bernard, *Doctor of Divinity, and Rector of* Whit-church *in* Shropshire.

Si totus orbis adversum me conjuraret, ut quidquam moliret adversus Regiam Majestatem, ego tamen Deum timorem & ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem, Bern. Ep. 170. ad Ludovicum Regem. An. 1130.

London, Printed *by* R. Hodkginson, *and are to be sold by* R. Marriot, *at his Shop in* St. Dunstans *Church-yard in* Fleetstreet. 1661.

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THE

PREFACE.

THeſe *two* learned *Speeches* of the late *Lord Primate Uſher* have been by ſome prudent perſons judged ſeaſonable to be thus publiſhed together. The *one*, Of the *Kings Supremacy*, may not only be inſtructive to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, but to ſome of our *own* Communion, who have been and are too ſcanty in the acknowledgment of it. The *other*, *Of the duty of Subjects to ſupply the Kings neceſsities*, was occaſioned by the ſlowneſs in *Ireland* of contributing to the King, for the maintenance of the *Army*, continued there for their own defence, the great imprudence of which parſimony,

we felt, to our own loſs not many years after; wherein that diſtinction in point of Loyalty, made between thoſe deſcended of the antient *Engliſh* race (though differing from us in point of Religion) and thoſe of the *meer Iriſh* (which is there much enlarged) may be now worthy of obſervation. The whole Speech is full of Loyalty, Prudence and Learning, for which, as he had his late *Majeſties* (of Bleſſed Memory) gracious *thanks*, ſo he had as little from others, who were then as backward in aſſenting to the like Propoſitions here, conceiving he had preſſed their *duty* too high in that point.

Both theſe Speeches thus tending to the defence of *Regal Power*, and *the duty of Subjects*, hath (in ſubmiſsion to the judgments of thoſe whom I much reverence) occaſioned the putting forth *a Sermon* of mine upon the like Subject, which I have the rather adventured ſo near this eminent *Primate*, as having had his approbation occaſioned by the cenſure of ſome at *Dublin*, *anno* 1642. when it was firſt delivered; of which

which more is ſaid in an Advertiſement before it.

Hereupon I have been further induced unto a *vindication* of the ſaid moſt eminent *Prelate* not only of His Judgment in this Subject, but in point of *Epiſcopacy*, *Liturgy*, and *Conſtitutions* of the Church of *England*, from the various miſapprehenſions of ſuch, who being of different opinions, the great reſpect given him by the *one*, hath been a ſcandal to the *other*: But by this impartial relation of his Judgment and Practice in each, it may be hoped that *both* ſorts will be ſo fully ſatisfyed as to unite in the exemplary obſervance of that *Piety*, *Loyalty*, *Conformity*, and *Humility* found in him.

And whereas ſome do much appeal to that *Accommodation* of his in relation to *Epiſcopacy* (wherein he was not ſingle) propoſed *Anno* 1640. (which then they did not hearken unto) they are herein remembred what was that which cauſed it, even the preſsing *violence* of thoſe times, threatning the deſtruction of the *whole*, with the ſole end of it, a *pacification*, whoſe readineſs

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in yielding up ſo much of his own Intereſt then, for the tranquility of the Church (like *Jonas* willing to be caſt overboard for the ſtilling of the Tempeſt) would be worthy of all our *Imitations* now. The appeale here is from that *Storm*, unto what his *practice* was in *calme* and peaceable times, which if followed, would give a check to moſt of thoſe diſputes which have of late taken up ſo much time amongſt us.

The *Fruite* expected to be reaped from this declaration (beſides the ſatisfaction of mine own mind, which was not at reſt without it) is the due *honor* of him, for whoſe I am oblieged to ſacrifice mine own. That as he is admired *abroad*, ſo he may not want that love and general eſteem he hath deſerved at *home*. And as the *peace* and *unity* of the Church was ſtudied by him in his *life* time, ſo there might not be the leaſt breach continued by a miſapprehenſion of him after his *death*. And ſurely if ſuch of us who think him worthy of being our *copy*, would but now upon the ſight of this,

writ

writ after him the *Arke* of our Church would ceaſe to be toſſed too and fro in this *floating* uncertain condition, and immediately reſt upon firm ground.

Heretofore, having an occaſion to vindicate this moſt Learned Primate in point of *Doctrine* (ſo unhappy often are perſons of his eminency, as after their deaths to be challenged Patrons to contrary partyes) I had *An.*1658. a Letter of Thanks from the late Reverend Biſhop of *Durham* (Biſhop *Morton*) in theſe wordes, *viz. I acknowledge hereby my obligation of Thankſulneſs to you, not not only for the book it ſelf, but eſpecially for your pains, in vindicating that admirable Saint of God, and Starr,* primæ magnitudinis, *in the Church of God, the Primate of Armagh, &c.* In which high eſteem of the *Primate*, the now *Reverend Biſh. of Durham* ſucceeds him, who hath often ſignified it, in divers of his Letters which I receiued from *Paris* to that purpoſe.

Hereunto *two* other *Treatiſes* have been thought fit to be added (mentioned in the foreſaid vindication (but then not intend-

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ed to be publiſhed) which the Eminent Primate had a hand in. The one, Mr. Hookers *Judgment of Regal Power, in Matters of Religion, the advancement of Biſhops, and the Kings Exemption from cenſure &c.* Left out of the common copyes *inlarged* and *confirmed* by the *Primate*, all the marginal notes of the quotations out of the *Fathers*, being under his own hand, are noted with this mark *

The other a Treatiſe of the *Form of Church Government before and after Chriſt, &c.* The main aime of it is to ſhew, that the Government of the Chriſtian Church eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles under the *New* Teſtament was according to the pattern of that in the *Old*, then which ſcarce any book in ſo *little*, ſpeaks ſo *much*, for the preheminency of Epiſcopacy. It firſt appeared *Anno* 1641. under the Title of the *rude draughts of Biſhop* Andrews, (which though I was in doubt of, by the contrary opinion of an eminent perſon, (heretofore near unto him) yet I am confirmed in it by what I find written by that Learned Biſhop

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in anſwer to *Peter de Moulin*, wherein is found not only the ſubſtance, but the very words that are uſed both within this Treatiſe, and the *Emendations*. vid. reſp. ad 3. epiſt. p. 193. 194. *Vis arceſſam adhuc altius, vel è veteri Teſtamento, atque ipſâ adeò lege divinâ? Facit* Hieronymus, *& ut ſciamus traditiones Apoſtolicas ſumptas ex veteri Teſtamento, quod* Aaron, *& filii ejus, atque Levitæ in Templo fuerunt, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, atque Diaconi vendicant in Eccleſiâ. Facit* Ambroſius, *utrobique, in* 1. Co. 12. *&* 4. *ad Epheſ. de Judæis loquens; Quorum, inquit, traditio ad nos tranſitum fecit,* Aaronem *mitto ne quaſi Chriſti typum rejicias. Filiis ejus ſacerdotibus nonne in ſingulis familiis ſuus* נשיא *id eſt Prælatus, ſive ut alibi dicitur* נסיך i. e. *Epiſcopus? Gerſonitis,* Num. 3. 24. *Kaathitis* v. 30. *Meraritis,* v. 30? *Nonne vivente adhuc patre ſuo, Eleazar ibi* נשיא נשיאום *quaſi dicas Prælatus Prælatorum* v. 32. נגיד מקיד *quaſi dicas Archiepiſcopus, ſunt ergo in lege* נשיאום, כהנים, לויים. *In Evangelio Apoſtoli, ſeptuaginta duo, ſeptem illi,* Act. 6. *In Apoſtolorum praxi de duobus illis ſumpta, Epiſcopi, Presbyteri, Diaconi.*

Again it hath been aſſured me by a *Reve-*

rend Biſhop, that the aboveſaid *Rude Draught* was wrote by the hand of *Biſhop Andrews* own *Secretary*, and that the ſaid Biſhop did deliver it himſelf to the *Primate*, Anno 1640. who, though it came in that imperfect condition, yet finding ſo many excellent obſervations wrought out with very great induſtry, he judged it forthwith, as it was, worthy of the Preſs: But afterwards upon a further review, he added his ſtrength to the perfecting of it, which I found amongſt his papers done throughout with his own hand, and with it a *Manuſcript* of the ſame, corrected accordingly by him. And in the concluſion of that, a very *learned hand* had contributed to it alſo, ſignifying by markes refering to ſeveral Pages, what he would have *added*, *altered*, or *further enquired* into, Now whether the Author of that be Biſhop *Andrews*, or ſome other learned perſon, I ſhall not determine, only ſeeing it was his cuſtom in what he publiſhed (as I am aſſured) firſt to write a *rough draught*, then after ſome diſtance of time to take a *review*, and a third before it paſſed

paſſed his hand, this might be the *ſecond*, and the *third* ſupplyed by the *Lord Primate*, wherein the laſt deſire of the Author hath been ſatisfied, he not only inquiring into, but clearing thoſe difficulties in *Chorography* and *Chronology*, which I have in their due places inſerted, with the learned additions before mentioned. So that whether the whole be the labour of thoſe two eminent *Prelats* (the one laying the *Foundation*, the other *building* upon it) or be a three *fold cord*, it is here faithfully preſented without any dimunition or addition, even where there ſeemed to be ſome ſmall imperfection which in a few places do occurre, all which ſome years agon Doctor *Brounrigg* the late *Biſhop of* Exeter, upon the view of gave me his judgment for the publiſhing of them.

I have ouly this to add, That for every particular paſſage in the whole, I have no warrant to intitle the *Primates* judgment to it. Only it is apparent by his great pains in the double correction, and ſupply made by himſelf in ſome Specialties, he had a ve-

ry great valew of it. The *Primates Annotations* are noted with this *marke* *. And the *ſuppoſed Authors* additions and changes are noted with this *mark* [ ] though in ſome omitted.

Laſtly, finding among the ſaid *Primates* papers a Letter of D. HADRIANUS de SARAVIA to the Miniſters of the Iſle of *Garnſey*, (which I cannot hear was ever publiſhed.) I have thought fit to add alſo, the Subject being ſo near a kin to the former, concerning both the KINGS POWER, EPISCOPACY, and the CONSTITUTIONS of the Church of *England*, whoſe advice to them many years agon, may be of good uſe to others now.

I have no more, but to wiſh that the Judgment of theſe eminent Authors may be ſo prevalent with others, much inferior to them, that they may be moved accordingly to *ſtudy quietneſs, and ſeek thoſe ways of peace*, which of latter years *we have not known.*

The

The Bishop of *Lincoln's* Preface to the Reader.

Ussher
1. Lord Primate
2. Mr. Hooker.
3. Bp. Andrewes
4. Dr. Hadrian à Saravia.

Courteous Reader,

THE Four Authors *of these* scattered (*and some of them* imperfect) *pieces, by the care and diligence of the learned Publisher* gathered up, preserved *from perishing, and* presented *to the World here altogether* in one view, *were all of them men famous in their times, and of so high esteem, that* common opinion *had set them up* (*which is not alwaies the Lot of* Worth *and* Vertue) *above the reach of* Calumny *and* Envy, *even whilst they were yet living, much reverence every where paid, not to their* Persons *only, but to their very* Names: *Their Writings carried* Authority *with them, as well as* Weight; *and the evidence of* Truth (*which hath a marvelous strength to* cast down every imagination *that exalteth it self there against*) *shining forth in*

in their Works, *ſubdued all men* (*that had not to ſerve* Intereſts *laid aſide their* Reaſon) *to their* Judgments, *inſomuch as the* Adverſe Party *finding themſelves not ſo well able to ſtand upon their* own bottom, *nor likely to hold up* the reputation *they had gained among the vulgar without a* juggle, *have been ſometimes put to* the pittifull ſhift *of ſetting forth* Suppoſitious Pamphlets *in favour of their cauſe, under* the counterfeit names *of other men of known* Piety *and* Parts, *whoſe former* writings *having been entertained with* general approbation *abroad in the world, their very* names (*they thought*) *would give ſome* countenance *to any* cauſe *which they could ſeem in any degree to* own. *So ſometimes poor mens* Baſtards *are fathered upon thoſe that never* begat *them; only becauſe it is known they are well able to* maintain *them.*

This is one of their Piæ fraudes *or* Godly Cheats, *a practice common to them with* the Jeſuites, *as many other of their* practiſes (*ey and of their* Doctrines *too*) *are. Such an unhappy fatal* coincidence, *not ſeldom there is of* Extreams. *Thus dealt they with the Reverend* Primate of Armagh, *printing in his* name, *and that in*

in his life *time too, (ſuch was their* modeſty *and* tenderneſs of Conſcience) *two ſeverall* Pamphlets, *the one called* Vox Hiberniæ, *and the other,* A Direction to the Parliament, &c. *See* pag. 151. *And ſure, if they had the forehead to make* thus bold *with him, when he was alive, able to* complain *of the injury done him, and to* proteſt *againſt it: We cannot doubt but that if need were, they would make at leaſt* as bold *with* him *and his* name *after he was* dead, *when they might doe it with greater* ſecurity *and leſs fear of* controll. *See* pag. 60. *They that betake themſelves to theſe* unworthy arts, *though they may pleaſe themſelves for a while with* an imagination, *that by this means* the people will fall to them *apace, and thereout they ſhall* ſuck no ſmal advantage *to their* Cauſe *and* Party; *yet as it moſtly cometh to paſs, ſuch their* rejoycing *is but* ſhort: *For* the impoſture *once diſcovered (nor is it often* long *before that be done; for* a lying tongue is but for a moment) the Impoſters *are forced to* lye down in ſorrow, *and that (if they could be found out) with* ſhame *enough. For, ſuch diſcovery once made,* wiſemen *fall off faſter from* them,

them, then ever fools *came on; concluding* the Cauſe *to be deſperately* crazy, *that muſt be beholding to ſuch* weak props *as theſe to ſhore it up, and* ſupport *it.*

How they that are guilty of ſuch foul play *will be able to make anſwer for their* inſincerity *before the tribunal of* the great Judge *at that* his day *(if yet they that do ſuch things can really believe there is any ſuch thing as* a day of Judgment *to come) I leave to their* own Judgments *in this* their day *to conſider. As for us* qui leges colimus ſeveriores, *as we profeſs our utter abhorrency of all* forgery *and other like* unworthy & unchriſtian *attempts in any* perſon *of whatſoever* perſwaſion *he be, or for whatſoever* end *it be done, ſo we hold our ſelves religiouſly obliged to uſe all* faithfulneſs *and* ſincerity *in the publiſhing of* other mens works; *by ſuffering every* Author *to ſpeak his* own ſenſe *in his* own words, *nor taking the boldneſs to change* a phraſe *or* ſyllable *therein, at leaſt not without giving* the Reader, *both notice where, and ſome good account alſo* why *we have ſo done. Such faithfulneſs and ingenuity the learned publiſher of theſe* Treatiſes *profeſſeth himſelf to have uſed,*

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in ſetting them forth, neither better *nor* worſe, *but juſt as he found them in the* Reverend Primate's *Paper, ſome* perfect, *and ſome* imperfect, *according as they were, and ſtill are in the* Copies *which are in his cuſtody, and which he is ready upon all occaſions to ſhew, if need ſhall require.*

The Primates *two Speeches, and* Dr. Saravia's *Letter, are ſet forth perfect, according as they are in the* Original Copies *to be ſeen. The Treatiſe of* the Form of Church-Government *heretofore publiſhed, and (very probably) ſuppoſed to have been ſome* Collections *of the moſt Learned and Reverend* Biſhop Andrews, *but whereunto the Author had not put to his* laſt hand, *is a piece though little in* bulk, *yet of huge* induſtry, *and ſuch as neither could* the materials *thereof have been* gathered *without very frequent* reading, *and attent* obſerving *of the ſacred Text, nor being gathered could they have been eaſily* contrived *or* digeſted *into any* handſome Form *ſo compendiouſly without the help of* a methodical *and* mature *judgment*; *which doubtleſs had the* Author *poliſhed and finiſhed according to his own* mind, abilities, *and* exactneſs *in other things, would have given very*

much satisfaction to the impartial Reader, *and done good service to* the Church of God. *Yet rather then a Tract of so much* usefulness *should not be publickly known to the World, the Publisher in order to* the publick good, *thought fit (notwithstanding whatsoever* defects *it may have for want of the Authors* last hand *thereunto) to joyn it with the rest in this* Edition, *especially* the Learned Primate *having had it under his* File, *as by* the Notes *and other* Additions *written with the* Primates *own hand (which I have seen and can testifie) doth plainly appear. The same also is to be said of the* three *pieces of the renowned* Hooker, *and of what is written with the same hand in the Margent of* the Manuscript Copie, *whereof some account is given*, pag. 47.

Great pity it is, if it could be holpen, that any thing which fell from the Pen of any of these Four Worthies *should be lost. But where* the entire Work *cannot be retrieved; it is pity but (as in a* Shipwrack *at Sea, or* Scath-fire *by land) so much of it should be saved as can be saved, be it* more *or* lesse. *Those men have been always thought to have deserved well of* the Comonwealth

Commonwealth *of* Learning, *that have beſtowed their pains in collecting out of the* Scholiaſts, Grammarians, Lexicons, *and other antient* Authors, *the Fragments of* Ennius, Lucilius, Cicero, the Dramatike Poets, *and of other learned, though but* Heathen Writers, *whether* Greek *or* Latine. *How much more then ought the very imperfect* Fragments *and* Relikes (*ſo they be genuine*) *of ſuch excellent perſons, that tend ſo much to the advancement, not of* the knowledge *only, but of* the Power *alſo of* Chriſtianity, *and of* Godlineſs *as well as* Truth, *be acceptable to all thoſe that are* true Lovers *of either? Of Gold* quævis bracteola, *the very ſmaleſt* filings *are precious, and our* Bleſſed Saviour, *when there was* no want of proviſion, *yet gave it in charge to his Diſciples, the* off-fall *ſhould not be loſt. The more* commendable *therefore is, and the more* acceptable *to the men of this Generation ſhould be,* the care *of the Reverend* Preſerver *and* Publiſher *of theſe ſmall but precious* Relikes *of ſo many eminent perſons, men of exquiſite* learning, *ſober* underſtandings, *and of exemplary* piety *and* gravity, *all concurring in the ſame* judgment,

as concerning those points (Factious Spirits *in these latter times so much opposed*) of Regal *Soveraignty*, Episcopal *Government*, *and Obedience in* Ceremonialls.

What the Reverend Doctor *hath* added *of his own, as touching the Learned* Primates *Judgment in the Premises, and* confirmed *the same by instancing in sundry* particulars *under those three* Generall Heads; *and that, from his own personal* knowledge, *and long* experience (*having for divers years lived* under *or* near *him*) *is* in the general *very well known to my self and many others, who have sundry times heard him, as* occasion *was given, deliver* his opinion *clearly in every of the aforesaid* points, *which were then grown to be the whole* Subject *(in a manner) of* the common discourse *of the times. But one* particular *I shall mention, which above the rest I perfectly* remember, *as taking more* special notice *of it when it was* spoken *then of the rest, because I had never heard it observed by any before, and having my self oftentimes since* spoken *of it to others upon several occasions; which for that it hath given satisfaction to* some, *I think it my duty to make it known to as many* others *as I*

can,

Cros after Baptisme

can, by acquainting the Reader *with it, and it concerneth the Ceremony of* the Croſs after Baptiſme, *as it is enjoyned by* Law, *and practiſed in* the Church of England.

The uſe of this Ceremony *had been ſo fully* declared, *and (as to the point of* Superſtition *wherewith ſome had* charged *it) ſo abundantly* vindicated, *both in* the Canons *of the Church, and other* writings *of Learned men, that before the beginning of* the Long Parliament, *and the unhappy Diviſions that followed thereupon, there were* very few *in the whole Nation (ſcarce here and there* one) *either of* the Miniſters *that made* ſcruple *to uſe it, or of* the People *that took* offence *at it. But after that ſome leading men of* the Houſe of Commons *in that Parliament, for the better driving on the deſign they had upon* the King, *had let all looſe in* the Church, *whilſt ſome few* ſtood faſt *to their honeſt Principles (and were moſt of them* undone *by it) the greateſt part of* the Clergy *(to their ſhame be it ſpoken)* many *for fear of looſing* their own, more *in hope to get* other mens livings, *and ſome poſſibly out of their ſimplicity beguiled with the ſpecious name of* Reformation, *in a*

ſhort

ſhort ſpace became either ſuch perfect Time-Servers *as to* cry down, *or ſuch tame* Complyers *with the ſtronger Side, as to* lay down *ere they needed, the uſe of* the whole Liturgy, *and of all the* Rites and Ceremonies *therein preſcribed. But among them all, none in the whole bunch ſo bitterly* inveighed *againſt, nor with ſuch ſeverity* anathematized, *as this of* the Croſs, *as ſmelling ranker of* Popery & Superſtition *then any of the reſt, as it is even at this day by the Managers of the* Presbyterian *Intereſt repreſented as of all other,* the greateſt Stone *of offence to* tender Conſciences, *and* the removal *of it more inſiſted upon, then of all the other* Ceremonies, *by ſuch men, as having engaged to* plead *in the behalf of other mens* tender Conſciences, *do wiſely conſider withall, that it will not be ſo much for their own* Credit, *now to become Time-Servers* with the Laws, *as it was ſome years paſt for their* profit *to become Time-Servers* againſt the Laws.

Theſe out-cries *againſt a poor* Ceremony, *to us* (*who were not able to diſcerne in it any thing of* harme *or* Superſtition, *worthy of ſo much* noiſe) *afforded ſometimes, when two or three of*

us

we chanced to meet together, matter of diſcourſe. *It hapned upon a time, that falling occaſionally upon this* Theme, *the Learned* Primate *among other things ſaid to us that were then caſually preſent with him, that in his opinion* the Sign of the Croſs after Baptiſme, *as it is appointed* in the Service-Book, *and taken together with the words uſed therewithall, was ſo far from being a Relike of Popery, that he verily believ'd the ſame to have been retained in* the Church of England *at the Reformation, of purpoſe to ſhew that the cuſtom uſed in* the Church of Rome, *of giving* the Chriſme *to Infants immediately after their* Baptiſme, *was in their Judgments neither* neceſſary *to be continued* in all Churches, *nor* expedient *to be obſerved* in ours. *Which his* opinion, *as it is moſt certainly* true *in the former, ſo to me it ſeemeth very* probable *in the latter branch thereof.*

For firſt, *how can that be with any truth affirmed, or but with the leaſt colour of reaſon* ſuſpected *to be a* Popiſh *Cuſtom, or a Rag or Relike of* Rome, *that hath been for above a* hundred years *uſed* (*and that uſe by* Law *eſtabliſhed*) *in* the Proteſtant Church of England, *but is*

not

not at all uſed, nor (for ought I can learn) ever was uſed by the Papiſts *in their* Churches, *nor is it by any Order or Authority of* the Church of Rome *enjoyned to be uſed in any* Church *in the world that profeſſeth ſubjection thereunto. True it is, that in* the Office of Baptiſme, *according to* the Romane Ritual, *the ſigne of* the Croſs *is very often uſed, from firſt to laſt, at leaſt twenty times* (viz. *in the Benediction of* the Salt, *in* the Exorciſmes, *in the formal words* of Adminiſtration, *and otherwiſe*) *yet as luck would have it, that* ſigne *is not made, nor by the* Ritual *appointed to be made upon* the Childs Forehead, *as with us is uſed* : *Nor are thoſe* very words *therewithal uſed, nor* other words *to the like purpoſe by the ſaid* Ritual *appointed to be ſo uſed* (*ſhewing what the* intent, meaning *and* ſignification *of that* Sign *is*) *as in our* Service Book *is done. And true it is alſo* (*for* I wil not, *as I think I ought* not diſſemble *any thing that I can imagine might be advantagiouſly* objected *by an* Adverſary) *that according to* the Romane Order *the* Miniſter *as ſoon as he hath finiſhed* the Baptiſme (Ego baptizo te &c.) *is in the next place to* annoint *the Infant* croſs-wiſe, *with*

with a certain Prayer (*or* Benediction *rather*) *to be ſaid at the ſame time, as by* the Ritual *printed at* Antwerp, An. Dom. MDCLII. *pag.* 23. *may appear. But ſo far diſtant is that* Rite of theirs *from this of* ours *in many reſpects, as may alſo by comparing their* Ritual *with our* Service Book *appear; that* ours *cannot with any congruity be thought to have been* drawen *by that* patterne, *or to have been borrowed or* taken *from their* practice. *For firſt,*

1. Theirs *is* actus immanens, *a material annointing and ſo leaveth* a real effect *behind it, the viſible Form or Figure of a* Croſs, *to be ſeen upon* the Childs *head, after* the act *is done. But* ours *is a meer* tranſient act, *an immaterial ſign of a* Croſs *made in the aire, without any ſenſible either* impreſsion *or* expreſsion *remaining when the* act *is over.*

2. Theirs *is done upon* the Top *or* Crown *of the head* (in ſummitate capitis. Ritual p. 23.) *which is elſewhere expreſsed by* Vertex (*ſee pag.* 49. *&* 51. *&* 56.) *which ſure muſt needs have ſome other* ſignification, *if it have any, then* ours *hath. Which is done upon the Childs* Forehead, *the proper ſeat (by the* common

judgment *of the world, and according to the grounds of* Phiſiognomy) *of* ſhamefaſtneſs *and* boldneſs, *and ſo holdeth a perfect analogy with that which* the Church *intended to* ſignifie *by it* in token that he ſhall not be aſhamed &c.

3. Their Croſs *belongeth preciſely to the annointing with* the Chriſme, *whereunto it* relateth, *and hath ſuch a dependance thereupon, that ſuppoſing there were no ſuch* Chriſme *uſed in* the Church *of* Rome, *there would be no place left for* the Croſs *in all that part of* the Office *that followeth after the formal words of* Baptiſme, *as from the frame and order of* their Ritual *is moſt evident. It cannot therefore be the ſame with the* Croſs *uſed in* our Church, *where the* Chriſme *is not at all uſed, but thought fit rather at* the Reformation *to be* (*I dare not ſay* condemned *as unlawful and ſuperſtitious, but*) laid aſide, *as at leaſt unneceſſary and uſeleſs, as many other* Ceremonies (*ſtill retained in* the Church of Rome) *were, becauſe, though ſome of them were* guiltleſs, *yet they were grown ſo* burdenſome *by reaſon of their* multitude, *that it was fit* the number *of them ſhould be abated.*

And

And yet ſecondly *there might be, and* (*in the* Primates *judgment*) *probably there was a more* peculiar Reaſon *why after* Baptiſme *our* Church *did ſubſtitute* the ſigne of the Croſs *with the words thereto appertaining, in ſtead of* the Chriſme *and the Croſs attending it, uſed in* the Church of Rome. *The Ceremony of giveing* the chriſme *to Infants in all likelihood came into* the church *about the ſame time, when* (*through the miſunderſtanding of a paſſage in* John 6. 53.) the opinion *of the neceſsity of adminiſtring* the Lords Supper *to Infants had obtained in* the chriſtian church. *And that* (as it ſeemeth) *to ſupply in ſome ſort the want of* confirmation *wherein the like Ceremony of annointing with* the chriſme *was uſed*) *of which* young children *were not capable, and which yet was in all reaſon to precede the receiveing of* the Lords Supper. *That* opinion *in time vaniſhed as an* Error, *and with it* the practiſe *of communicating Infants ceaſed. But ſtill the cuſtom of giving them the* chriſme *continued, as a kind of* initial confirmation (*if I may ſo call it*) *as if by it were conferred ſome degree of that* grace, *which in their account*) *is the proper effect of* the Sa-

crament of confirmation, *to wit, the grace of* Spiritual Strength, *to fight againſt* the Spiritual Enemie *of the Soul*, the fleſh, the world and the Divel: *Now to prevent the imagination of any ſuch efficacious vertue in* the chriſme, *and to ſhew that by* Baptiſme *alone* (*which is* ſacramentum militare) *without the addition of* the chriſme, *the perſon baptized receiveth all that benefite of* grace *and* ſtrength, *whatſoever it be, which he ſhould do, if the* chriſme *were joyned with it* (*for by* Baptiſme *he is not only received into* the church *as* a Member of Chriſt, *but matriculated alſo into* the Militia *as* a Soldier of Chriſt) *it might very well be thought convenient, laying aſide the annointing with* the chriſme (per modum crucis) *croſs-wiſe, that the* Miniſter *as ſoon as he hath* baptized the child, *ſhould in expreſs words ſignifie to the Congregation, that he is now become* the Soldier *of Jeſus Chriſt, as well as* a Member *of his Church, with* the ſign of the croſs *alſo uſed therewithall as a* ſignificant ceremony *in token that the perſon ſo baptized being now* the Soldier *of Chriſt, ſhould not be aſhamed of his* profeſsion, *nor behave himſelf* cowardly *therein.*

This

This is the ſubſtance of what the Learned Primate *declared to us to be his Judgment concerning the uſe of this* Ceremony, *and the place it hath in our* Liturgy. *In the ſetting down whereof, if for the* Readers *fuller ſatisfaction I have allowed myſelf a good liberty of* enlargement, *either for the farther* confirming, *or the better* clearing *of his* opinion: *I hope none will therefore charge me to have* miſrepreſented *it, having gone all along upon* his grounds, *and perfectly to* his ſenſe. *This Story, of what* diſcourſe *we had with* the Primate *at that time (as I had to others heretofore, ſo) I told very lately to* the Reverend Doctor, *the Publiſher of theſe* Treatiſes, *who told me back again, that himſelf had alſo heard him declare* his opinion *to the ſame effect as aforeſaid, and remembreth particularly (which I here* publiſh, *having* the Doctors Warrant *ſo to do) that he ſo declared it in a publick* Speech (mentioned pag. 63.) *before a great Auditory at* Drogheda *in* Ireland, *when he firſt confirmed children there.*

I am unwilling, having gone thus far already to weary the Reader *or my* Self *with proceeding any farther, nor indeed is it needful I ſhould. For (ſince* only by pride commeth contention, *Prov.* 13. 10. *if all men that pretend to be* wiſe *and* honeſt *would be* humble *(and truly he that is not ſo, is neither* honeſt *nor* wiſe*) and make that their* buſineſs *which is certainly their* Duty : *That is to ſay, if they would ſtudy* quietneſs *more, and* Parties *leſs, bear a juſt reverence to* Antiquity *and to their* betters, *allow as* favorable a conſtruction *to things eſtabliſhed as they are capable of, ſuſpect their* own judgment, *wherein it differeth from* the publick, *ſubmit to* reaſon, *and* yield *when they are* convinced, obey *cheerfully where they* may, *and where they* dare *not,* ſuffer *without noiſe, a little* ſaying *and* writing *would ſerve the turn. But when men are once grown to this, to make it their Glory to* head *or* hold up *a Party ; To ſtudy wayes how to* evade *when they are called to obey ; To reſolve to erre, becauſe they* have erred, *and to hold their* concluſion *in deſpite of all Premiſes ; To preferre*

their

their private opinions *before wiser mens judgments, and their reputation with the vulgar before* Obedience *to Superiors; In a word, to ſuffer themſelves to be ſwayed with* Paſsions, Parties, *or* Intereſts; *all the writing and ſaying in the World, as to ſuch men (untill it ſhall pleaſe God to put their* hearts *into another* Frame) *is to no more purpoſe, then if a man ſhould go about to fill a* Seive *with Water, or to* waſh a Blackamore white.

When we have tried *all the ways and concluſions we can, we ſhall in the end* find *the beſt* expedient for Peace, *and the beſt* Service *we can do* the Church, our Selves, *and our* Brethren, *to be our* conſtant *and* inſtant Prayers *to Almighty God (with our ſubſervient* Endeavors) *that he would give to every one of us*, a diſcerning judgment *to ſee the Truth, and a* willing mind *to embrace it*, conſcience *to do what we* ought, *and* Patience *to ſuffer what wee muſt*, Humility *to acknowledge* our own, *and* Charity *to bear with* other mens *infirmi-*

ties

The Bishop of *Lincoln's*

ties, that so we may keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace, *and* fulfil the Law of Christ, *which is the unfeigned hearty Wish of*

The unworthy Servant

London *Aug.* 10. MDCLXI. of JESUS CHRIST

Ro. Lincoln.

The

The Contents of each Treatiſe.

I. Of the Oath of Supremacy.

THe diſtinct Power of the Sword and Keys.
That the Sword is not reſtrained to Temporal Cauſes only.
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Four Arguments againſt the Biſhop of Romes *Title, to an univerſal Supremacy.*
King James *His gracious Thanks to the* Primate *for it.*

II. Of the Duty of Subjects to ſupply the Kings Neceſsities.

The Pretenſions of Spain *to the Kingdom of* Ireland.
The Diſtinction in point of Loyalty between thoſe of the ancient Engliſh Race, and the meer Iriſh.
The hatred ſhewn by the latter to the former in the Colledges abroad.
The moderating and anſwering Objections on both ſides, for and againſt the Contribution propounded.
Divers Records produced as preſidents for it
His Judgment, as a Divine, in the caſe, not to be an Arbitrary Act, but a matter of Duty and Conſcience.
That the denying of the King what is neceſſary for the ſupport of his Kingdom, is no leſs a Robery of him then a Subtracting of Tithes and Oblations is called a Robbery of God by the Prophet.

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His compassionate affection to such as had suffered for his Majesty.

2. *In point of Episcopacy.*

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His dayly observing of the Book of Common-prayer.

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His observing of the Ceremonies and causing them so to be.

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His subscription to the 3. *Articles in the* 36. cap. *of the book of the Canons of* England.

The severity, put in with his own hand, in the first Canon of Ireland *against such as should refuse to subscribe to the Articles of* England, *Observation of the annual Festivals, Good-Friday, &c.*

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1. *The Kings power in matters of Religion.*
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V. Biſhop *Andrews* Judgment, (as it is conceived) of Church Government before and after Chriſt, &c. confirmed and enlarged by the Primate.

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5. *Under* David *(where is much added by the Primate.)*
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Of the Scotch Reformation.
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A Pamphlet printed under the name of the late Archbiſhop of Armagh *concerning the Liturgy and Church Government, declared to be none of his. As he hath been alſo injured and is ſtill by another Book intituled,* a Method of Meditation, or a Manual of Divine Duties, *which though by his own direction in his life time* 1651. *I did in his name declare, to be none of his, but falſly put upon him, and have done ſo twice ſince his death, yet is ſtill reprinted, and ſold up and down as his, to the great injury of him.*
The late Lord Primate Uſhers *Judgment of* the ſigne of the Croſs in Baptiſme, *confirmed by the Biſhop of* Lincoln *in his Preface.*

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The Antient *Fathers* Loyalty to the worſt of Emperors

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2. *Not giving the leaſt* Offence *in word or Writing, St.* Hillary Nazianzen *&c.*
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St. Auguſtines *Commendation of the Chriſtians under* Julian, Tertullians *under* Severus.

St. Ambroſe, Athanaſius *and others.*

That Evaſion viz. That the Chriſtians then wanted Power to reſiſt, *cleared out of* Euſebius, Tertullian, St. Ambroſs, Theodoret.

Rebellion always found the Ruine of the Actors.

The Speech of Rodolphus *upon his mortal wound in taking up Armes againſt the* Emperor.

A Concluſive Application.

An Animadvertiſement.

Such of the *Biſhops* and Clergy as by Gods Mercy eſcaped with their Lives to *Dublin*, in that Bloody Rebellion in *Ireland Anno* 1641. and 1642. did conceive fitting at a ſo great, though ſad meeting, to have ſomewhat like a *Commencement* in that *Univerſity*. The Doctors part *(pro gradu)* was the *Concio ad clerum*. The Text *Rom.* 13. 2. was taken out of the *Epiſtle* appointed for the day, being the Tueſday after the Fourth

Fourth Sunday after the *Epiphany*. The day (according to that account) of the late Kings (of Bleſſed Memory) murder. The Doctrine delivered, was then ſo offenſive to ſome potent perſons newly landed, that he was forced to ſend a *Copy* to the L. *Primate Uſher*, who gave his approbation of it. And upon the Thirtieth of *January* laſt, 1660. (the day of Humiliation for the aboveſaid Murder) it was preached in *Engliſh* at the Honorable Society of *Grayes-Inn London*. The Intention was to have publiſhed it in that Language it had its firſt being, but by the Printers Experiment of the ſlowneſs of the Sale in that, as the better ſuiting with theſe other Tracts, and that the Profit intended would be of a farther extent, the *latter* was reſolved of.

E R-

ERRATA.

PAge 24. line 29. read *the*. p. 25. l. 8. r. 2. marg. l. 2. ὥς. p. 27. l. 3. r. *him*. l. 4. *thee* p. 29 l. 19 r. *thus*. p. 31. 10. *Jehu*. p. 39. marg. l. 1. r. *Julianus* l. 5. r *iniquus*. p. 40. marg. l. 27. r. *fletibus*. l. 35. r. injuriam. p. 45. marg. l. 6. r. *pontificumque*. p. 43. l. 24. dele *for*. marg. l. 8. r. *per regiam*. 52. l. 31. r. *waited*. p. 56. l. 20. r. *calls*. p. 60. l. 9. r. *commendam*. p. 81. 6. r. *consecratus*. l. 7. r. *gratias*. p. 90. l. 9. r. *scarce*. l. 10. r. *inexcusable*. p. 95. 11. r. *Potiphera Job*. 1. 5. 42. 8. p. 96. l. 3. r. כל העם p. 97. 16. r. *fisties*. l. pen. *Merari*. l. ult. *after these* r. *the*. p. 100. l. 14 r. דאשי אבות. p. 101. l. 5. r. *camp*. l. 15. r. *Asher*. p. 102. l. 12. r. *Further*. p. 103. l. 9. r. *Gibethon*. p. 105. l. 2. r. כחנים. l. 4. שפטים. l. 6. מתחללים. l. 7. שערים. p. 107. l. 22. r. *Gershon*. l. 23. r. *Ethan*. l. ult. משנים. p. 109. l. 12. r. *Benaiah*. l. 21. פקדים. p. 112. l. 7. r. *Governors of the*. p. 113. l. 25. r. *Priest*. p. 114. l. 3. dele *the*. l. 20. r. *are*. l. 30. dele, p. 115. l. 24. r. *they*. p. 116. l. 19. r. *of this mind*. l. ult. dele *ut*. p. 117. l. r. *degrees*. p. 122. l. 4. ἀποδοδειγμένοι. p. 128. l. 6. r. *Scythia*. p. 130. l. 26. r. *These*. p. 132. l. 26. r. *pani*. l. ult. r. פקדים. p. 133. l. 18. r. Οἰκονομίαν l. 23. Ἡγούμενοι l. 25. Κυβερνήτης. In marg. p. 134. l. 4. r. δεῖν — p. 150. l. 12 dele 2. p. 147. l. 2. r. *Christi*.

Recensui Librum cui Titulus,
CLAVI TRABALES.

Imprimatur

Tertio Nonas Sext.
1661.

MA. FRANCK, S.T.P.
Reverendo in Christo
Patri Episcopo Londi-
nensi à Sacris Domes-
ticis.

A

SPEECH

Delivered in the

CASTLE-CHAMBER at DUBLIN.

22. of *November*, *Anno* 1622.

At the Cenſuring of ſome Officers who refuſed to take the

Oath of Supremacy.

By the late Lord Primate Uſher *then Biſhop of* Meath.

WHat *the danger of the* Law *is for refuſing this* Oath *hath been ſufficiently opened by my Lords the* Judges, *and the* quality *and* quantity *of that Offence hath been agravated to the full, by thoſe that have ſpoken after them. The part which is moſt proper for me to deal in is the information of the* Conſcience, *touching the Truth and Equity of the matters contained in the* Oath; *which I alſo have made choice the rather to inſiſt upon, be-*

cause both the form of the Oath *it self requireth herein a full resolution of the* Conscience (*as appeareth by those words in the very beginning thereof*; I do utterly testifie and declare in my Conscience *&c.*) *And the Persons that stand here to be censured for refusing the same have alledged nothing in their own defence, but only the simple Plea of* Ignorance.

— *That this point therefore may be cleered, and all needless Scruples removed out of mens minds:* Two *maine* Branches *there be of this* Oath *which require special Consideration. The one* Positive, *acknowledging the* Supremacy *of the Government of these Realms* in all Causes *whatsoever, to rest in the the* Kings *Highness only*; *the other* Negative, *renouncing all Jurisdictions and Authorities of any Forraigne Prince or Prelate within His Majesties Dominions.*

For the better understanding of the former we are in the first *place to call unto our remembrance that Exhortation of* St. Peter, Submit your selves unto every Ordi-
1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. nance of Man for the Lords sake, whether it be unto the King, as having the Preheminence, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. *By this we are taught to respect the King, not as* the only Governor *of his Dominions* Simply (*for we see there be other* Governors *placed under him*) *but* ὡς ὑπερέχοντα, *as him that* excelleth, *and hath the preheminence over the rest, that is to say* (*according to the Tenure of the* Oath) *as him that is the* only Supream Governor *of his Realms. Upon which ground we may safely build this conclusion, that what soever Power is inherent unto the King by vertue of his place, must be acknowledged to*

be

be in him Supream, *there being nothing ſo contrary to the nature of Soveraignty, as to have another Superior power to over-rule it.*

Qui Rex eſt, Regem (Maxime) non habeat.

In the ſecond *place we are to conſider, that God for the better ſetling of Piety and Honeſty among men, and the repreſſing of Prophaneneſs and other Vices hath eſtabliſhed two diſtinct powers upon earth, the one of the* Keys *committed to the Church, the other of the* Sword *committed to the Civil Magiſtrate, That of the Keys is ordained to work upon the Inner man, having immediate Relation to the* remitting *or* retaining *of ſins, That of the* Sword *is* John 20. 23. *appointed to work upon the outward man, yielding Protection to the obedient, and inflicting external puniſhment upon the Rebellious and Diſobedient. By the* former *the ſpiritual Officers of the Church of Chriſt are enabled to* govern well, *to* ſpeak, *and* exhort, *and* rebuke *with all* authority, *to* looſe *ſuch as are penitent, to commit others unto the Lords Priſon until their amendment, or to bind them over unto the Judgment of the great Day) if they ſhall perſiſt in their wilfulneſs and obſtinacie. By the* other, *Princes have an imperious power aſſigned by God unto them, for the defence of ſuch as do well, and executing* revenge *and* wrath *upon ſuch as do evil, whether by* death *or* baniſhment, *or* confiſcation of Goods *or* Impriſonment, *according to the quality of the offence.*

1 Tim. 5. 17. Tit. 2. 15. Mat. 16. 19. & 18. 18

Rom. 13. 4. Ezra 7. 26.

When St. Peter *that had the Keys committed unto him, made bold to draw the* Sword, *he was commanded to put it up, as a weapon that he had no authority to meddle withall; and on the other ſide, when* Uzziah *the King would*

Math. 20. 52.

venture upon the Execution of the Prieſts office, it was
2 Chron 26 18 ſaid unto him It pertaineth not unto thee *Uzziah* to burn incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts the Sons of *Aaron*, that are conſecrated to burn Incenſe. *Let this therefore be our ſecond concluſion, that the Power of the* Sword *and of the* Keys *are two diſtinct ordinances of God, and that the Prince hath no more authority to enter upon the execution of any part of the Prieſts function, then the Prieſt hath to intrude upon any part of the office of the Prince.*

In the third *place we are to obſerve that the power of the* Civil Sword, *(the* Supreame *managing whereof, belongeth to the King alone) is not to be reſtrained unto* temporal *cauſes only, but is by Gods ordinance to be extended likewiſe unto* all Spiritual and Eccleſiaſtical Things and Cauſes. *That as the Spiritual Rulers of the Church do exerciſe their kind of Government in bringing men unto obedience, not of the duties of the* firſt *Table alone, (which concerneth Piety and the Religious Service which man is bound to perform unto his Creator) But alſo of the* ſecond *(which reſpecteth moral honeſty, and the Offices that man doth owe unto man:) So the Civil Magiſtrate is to uſe his Authority alſo in redreſsing the abuſes committed againſt the firſt Table, as well as againſt the* Second, *that is to ſay as well in puniſhing of an* Heretick *or an* Idolater *or a* Blaſphemer, *as of a* Thief, *or a* Murtherer, *or a* Traytor, *and in providing by all good means, that ſuch as live under his Government may lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all* Piety and Honeſty.

1 Tim. 2. 2. *And howſoever by this means we make both* Prince *and* Prieſt *to be in their ſeveral places* cuſtodes utriuſque Tabulæ. *Keepers of both Gods Tables, yet do we not hereby any way confound both of their Offices together; for though*

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the matter wherein their government is exerciſed, may be the ſame, yet is the form *and* manner *of governing them alwayes different, the one reaching to the* outward *man only, the other to the* Inward; *the one binding or looſing the* ſoul, *the other laying hold on the* body, *and the things belonging thereunto: The one having ſpeciall reference to the Judgment of the* world to come, *the other reſpecting the preſent, retaining or looſing of ſome of the comforts of* this Life.

That there is ſuch a * Civil Government *as this* in Cauſes Spiritual and Eccleſiaſticall *no man of Judgment can deny; For muſt not* Hereſie *(for example) be acknowledged to be a Cauſe meerly* Spirituall or Eccleſiaſticall? *and yet by what power is an* Heretick *put to death: The Officers of the Church have no authority to take away the life of any man, it muſt be done therefore* per brachium ſeculare, *and conſequently it muſt be yeelded without contradiction, that the Temporall Magiſtrate doth exerciſe therein a part of his* Civil Government *in puniſhing a crime that is of its own nature* Spiritual or Eccleſiaſticall.

But here it will be ſaid, the words of the Oath *being generall that the King is* the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Highneſs Dominions and Countries. *How may it appear, that the power of the* Civil Sword *is only meant by that Government, and that the power of the* Keys *is not comprehended therein? I anſwer,* Firſt *that where a Civil Magiſtrate is affirmed to be* the Governor *of his own Dominions and Countries; by common intendment this muſt needs be underſtood of a* Civil Government, *and may in no reaſon be extended to that which is meerly of another kind.* Secondly, *I ſay, That where an Ambiguity is conceived to be in any part of*

* As on the other ſide, that a *Spirituall* or *Eccleſiaſticall Government* is exerciſed in Cauſes *Civill* or *Temporal*; For is not *Excommunication* a main part of Eccleſiaſtical Government, and *Foreſt Laws* a ſpecial branch of cauſes temporal, yet we ſee in *ſententiâ, latâ ſuper Chartas, An.* 12 *R.* H. 3. that the Biſhops of *England* pronounce a ſolemn ſentence of *Excommunication* againſt the Infringers of the liberties contained in *Chartâ de foreſtâ*.

an Oath, *it ought to be taken according to the underſtanding of him for whoſe ſatisfaction the* Oath *was miniſtred. Now in the caſe, it hath been ſufficiently declared by publick authority, that no other thing is meant by the* Government *here mentioned but that of the* Civil Sword *only.*

For in the book of Articles *agreed upon by the Arch-Biſhop and Biſhops, and the whole Clergie in the Convocation holden at* London Anno 1562. *Thus we read.* Where we attribute to the Queens Majeſty the Chief Government (by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlandrous folkes to be offended) we give not to our Princes the Miniſtring either of Gods word or of the Sacraments (the which thing the Injunctions alſo lately ſet forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen, doth moſt plainly teſtifie) but that only prerogative which we ſee to have been given alwayes to all Godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſticall or Temporall, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evill doers.

If it be here objected, that the Authority of the Convocation *is not a ſufficient ground for the Expoſition of that which was enacted in* Parliament: *I anſwer that theſe* Articles *ſtand confirmed, not only by the Royall aſſent of the Prince (for the eſtabliſhing of whoſe* Supremacy, *the Oath was framed) but alſo by a ſpeciall Act of* Parliament, *which is to be found among the Statutes, in the thirteenth yeer of Queen* Elizabeth, Cap. 12. *Seeing therefore the makers of the Law have full authority to expound the Law, and they have ſufficiently manifeſted, that by the* Supream Government *given to the Prince, they under-*

understand that kind of Government only which is exercised with the Civil Sword: *I conclude that nothing can be more plaine then this, that without all scruple of conscience the* Kings Majesty *may be acknowledged in this sense to be* the only Supream Governor of all his Highnes Dominions and Countrys, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as temporal, *and so have I cleered the* first *main branch of the* Oath.

I come now unto the Second *which is propounded* negatively: That no forreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within this Realm. *The Forreiner that challengeth this* Ecclesiastical *or* Spiritual *Jurisdiction over us is the* Bishop of Rome: *And the Title whereby he claimeth the Power over us, is the same whereby he claimeth it over the whole world, because he is* St. Peters *Successor forsooth. And indeed if* St. Peter *himself had been now alive, I should freely confess that he ought to have spiritual Authority, and Superiority within this Kingdom, But so would I say also if* St. Andrew, St. Bartholomew, St. Thomas, *or any of the other* Apostles *had been alive, for I know that their Commission was very large, to* go into all the world, and to preach the Gospel unto every Creature. *So that in what part of the* Mark 16. 15. *world soever they lived, they could not be said to be out of their charge, their* Apostleship *being a kind of an* universal Bishoprick. *If therefore the Bishop of* Rome, *can prove himself to be one of this Rank, the Oath must be amended, and we must acknowledge that he hath Ecclesiastical Authority within this Realm.*

True it is that our Lawyers in their yearly Books, by the name

name of the Apoſtle *do uſually deſigne the* Pope. *But if they had examined his Title to that* Apoſtleſhip, *as they would try an Ordinary mans Title to a Piece of Land, they might eaſily have found a number of Flaws and main defects therein; for firſt it would be enquired, whether the* Apoſtleſhip *was not ordained by our Saviour Chriſt, as a ſpecial Commiſſion, which being* perſonal *only was to determine with the death of the firſt* Apoſtles. *For howſoever at their firſt entry into the Execution of this Commiſſion, we find that* Matthias *was admitted to the* Apoſtleſhip *in the Roome of* Judas; *yet afterwards when* James *the Brother of* John *was ſlain by* Herod, *we do not read that any other was ſubſtituted in his place. Nay we know that the Apoſtles generally left no Succeſſors in this kind: Neither did any of the Biſhops (he of* Rome *only excepted) that ſate in thoſe famous Churches wherein the* Apoſtles *exerciſed their Miniſtry, challenge an* Apoſtleſhip *or an* Univerſal Biſhoprick *by vertue of that ſucceſſion.*

Acts 1. 25, 26.

It would Secondly *therefore be enquired what ſound evidence they can produce, to ſhew that* one *of the Company was to hold the* Apoſtleſhip, *as it were in* Fee, *for him and his Succeſſors for ever, and that the other* Eleven *ſhould hold the ſame for* Term of life *only.* Thirdly, *if this State of perpetuity was to be caſt upon one, how came it to fall upon St.* Peter, *rather then upon St.* John, *who outlived all the reſt of his Fellows, and ſo as a* Surviving Feoffee, *had the faireſt Right to retain the ſame in himſelf and his Succeſſors for ever;* Fourthly *if that State were wholy ſetled upon St.* Peter, *ſeeing the Romaniſts themſelves acknowledge, that he was Biſhop of* Antioch *before he was Biſhop of* Rome; *We require them to ſhew, why ſo great an Inheritance as this, ſhould deſcend unto*

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the younger *Brother* (*as it were by* Borough-English) *rather than to the* Elder (*according to the ordinary manner of deſcents*) *eſpecially ſeeing* Rome *hath little elſe to alledge for this preferment, but only that* St. Peter *was crucifyed in it, which was a ſlender reaſon to move the Apoſtle ſo to reſpect it. Seeing therefore the grounds of this great claime of the Biſhop of* Rome *appear to be ſo vain and frivolous, I may ſafely conclude that he* ought to have no Eccleſiaſtical or Spiritual Authority within this Realme, *which is the principal point contained in the Second part of the* Oath.

King JAMES *His Gracious Letter of Thanks to the Primate for his Speech.*

JAMES R.

RIght Reverend Father in God, and Right Truſty and well beloved Counſellor We greet you well, you have not deceived Our expectation, nor the gracious opinion We ever conceived both of Your Abilities in learning, and of your Faithfulneſs to Us and Our Service; Whereof as We have received ſundry Teſtimonies

both from Our precedent Deputys, as likewiſe from Our Right Truſty and well-beloved Couſin and Counſellor the *Viſcount Falkland*, Our preſent Deputy of that Realm, ſo have We now of late in one particular had a farther Evidence of your Duty and Affection well expreſſed by your late carriage in Our *Caſtle-Chamber* there, at the cenſure of thoſe diſobedient Magiſtrates, who refuſed to take the *Oath of Supremacy*, wherein your zeale to the maintenance of Our juſt and lawfull Power, defended with ſo much Learning and Reaſon, deſerves Our Princely and Gracious Thanks, which We do by this Our Letter unto you, and ſo bid you farewel,

Given under Our Signet at Our Court at White-Hall *the Eleventh of* January 1622. *In the Twentieth Year of Our Reign of* Great Britain, France *and* Ireland.

To the Right Reverend Father in God, and Our Right Truſty and Well-Beloved Councellor The Biſhop of Meath.

A SPEECH delivered by the Lord PRIMATE USHER before the Lord Deputy and the great Aſſembly at His Majeſties Caſtle in *DUBLIN*, *April* the laſt 1627.

MY LORD,

THe Reſolution of theſe Gentlemen in denying to contribute unto the ſupplying of the Army ſent hither for their defence, doth put me in mind of the Philoſophers obſervation, That ſuch as have reſpect unto a few things, are eaſily miſled; the preſent preſſure which they ſuſtain, by the impoſition of the Soldiers, and the deſire they have to be eaſed of that Burthen, doth ſo wholly poſſeſs their minds, that they have only an eye to the freeing of themſelves from that Incumbrance, without looking at all to the Deſolations that are like to come upon them by a long and heavy War, which the having of an Army in readineſs might be a meanes to have prevented. The lamentable effects of our laſt Wars in this Kingdom, doth yet freſhly ſtick in our Memories. Neither can we ſo ſoon forget the depopulation

of our land, when beſides the Combuſtions of War, the extremity of Famine *grew ſo great, that the very* women *in ſome places by the way ſide, have ſurpriſed the men that rode by to feed themſelves with* the fleſh of the horſe or the rider; *and that now again here is a ſtorm towards whereſoever it will light, every wiſe man will eaſily foreſee, which if we be not carefull to meet with in time, our State may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of.* Had I wiſt.

The dangers that now threaten us are partly from abroad, and partly from home; Abroad, *we are now at odds with two of the moſt Potent Princes in Chriſtendom, and to* both *which, in former times the diſcontented perſons in this Country have had recourſe, proffering the Kingdom it ſelf unto them, if they would undertake the conqueſt of it. For it is not unknown unto them that look into the ſearch of thoſe things, that in the days of King* Henry the Eighth, *the* Earl of Deſmond *made ſuch an offer of this Kingdom to the* French King, (*the inſtrument whereof yet remains upon record in the Court at* Paris) *and the* Biſhop of Rome *afterwards transferred the Title of all our Kingdoms unto* Charles *the Fifth, which by new Grants was confirmed unto his Son* Phillip, *in the time of Queen* Elizabeth, *with a reſolution to ſettle this Crown upon the* Spaniſh Infanta; *which Donations of the* Popes, *howſoever in themſelves, they are of no value, yet will they ſerve for a fair colour to a potent Pretender, who is able to ſupply by the Power of the Sword whatſoever therein may be thought defective. Hereunto may we adde that of late in* Spain, *at the very ſame time when the Treaty of the Match was in hand, there was a Book publiſhed, with great approbation there, by one of this Countrey Birth*

Phillip

Phillip O Sullevan, *wherein the* Spaniard *is taught, that the ready way to eſtabliſh his Monarchy (for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and is plainly there confeſſed) is firſt to ſet upon* Ireland, *which being quikely obtain'd, the Conqueſt of* Scotland *firſt, of* England *next, then of the* Low-Countreys, *is foretold with great facility will follow after.*

Neither have we more cauſe in this Regard to be afraid of a Forreign *Invaſion, than to be jealous of a* Domeſtick *Rebellion, where leſt I be miſtaken, as your* Lordſhips *have been lately, I muſt of neceſsity put a difference betwixt the Inhabitants of this Nation; ſome of them are deſcended of the Race of the antient* Engliſh, *or otherwiſe hold their Eſtates from the Crown, and have poſſeſsions of their own to ſtick unto, who eaſily may be truſted againſt a* Forreign Invader, *although they differ from the State in matter of Religion; for proof of which fidelity in this kind, I need go no further than the late Wars in the time of the Earl of* Tyrone *wherein they were aſſaulted with as powerfull temptations to move them from their Loyalty as poſsibly hereafter can be preſented unto them for at that time, not only the King of* Spain *did confederate himſelf with the Rebels, and landed his forces here for their aſſiſtance, but the Biſhop of* Rome *alſo with his* Breves *and* Bulls, *ſolicited our Nobility and Gentry to revolt from their obedience to the Queen; Declaring that the* Engliſh *did fight againſt the* Catholick Religion, *and ought to be oppugned as much as the* Turks, *imparting the ſame Favours to ſuch as ſhould ſet upon them, that he doth unto ſuch as fight againſt the* Turk, *and finally promiſing unto them that* the God of peace would tread down their enemys under their feet ſpeedily; *and yet for all the* Popes

Promiſes

Promiſes and Threatnings which were alſo ſeconded by a Declaration of the Divines of Salamanca *and* Valledolid, *not only the Lords and Gentlemen did conſtantly continue their Allegiance unto the* Queen, *but alſo were encouraged ſo to do, by the Prieſts of the Pale, that were of the Popiſh Profeſſion. who were therefore vehemently taxed by the Traytor* O Sullevan, *for exhorting them to follow the Queens ſide, which he is pleas'd to term* Inſanam & venenoſam Doctrinam & Tartareum dogma, *A mad and venemous Doctrine, and a helliſh opinion; but beſides theſe, there are a great number of* Iriſh, *who either beare a ſecret grudge againſt the* Engliſh *planted among them, or having nothing at all to looſe upon the firſt occaſion, are apt to joyn with any Forreign Invader, for we have not uſed that policy in our Plantations, that wiſe States have uſed in former times. They when they ſetled new Colonys in any place, did commonly tranſlate the antient Inhabitants to other dwellings; We have brought new Planters into the land, and have left the old Inhabitants to ſhift for themſelves, who being ſtrong in body, and daily increaſing in number, and ſeeing themſelves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their* Anceſtors *have formerly enjoyed, will undoubtedly be ready when any occaſion is offered to diſturb our quiet, whether then we caſt our eyes abroad, or look at home, we ſee our danger is very great.*

O Sullevan *Hiſt. Catbol. Hib. fol.* 20. & 263.

Neither may you, My Lords and Gentlemen, *that differ from us in point of Religion, imagine that the Community of profeſsion, will exempt you more then us from the danger of a Common-Enemy; Whatſoever you may expect from a Forraigner you may conjecture by the Anſwer which the Duke of* Medina Sidonia *gave in this Caſe*

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in 88. That his Sword knew no difference between a Catholique and a Heretique, but that he came to make way for his Maſter; *and what kindneſs you may look for from the Countrey-men that joyn with them, you may judge as well by the carriage which they ordinarily uſe towards you and yours, both in the* Court, *and in the* Colledges *abroad, as by the advice not long ſince preſented by them unto the Councel of* Spain, *wherein they would not have ſo much as the* Iriſh *Prieſts and Jeſuites that are deſcended of* Engliſh blood *to be truſted, but would have you and all yours to be accounted enemys to the deſigns of* Spain. *In the Declaration publiſht about the beginning of the Inſurrection of* James Fitz-Morice *in the* South, *the Rebels profeſſed it was no part of their meaning to ſubvert,* honorabile Anglorum ſolium. *Their Quarrel was only againſt the Perſon of Queen* Elizabeth, *and her Government; but now the caſe is otherwiſe, the tranſlating of the Throne of the* Engliſh *to the power of a Forreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-eſtabliſhing of the* Iriſh *in their antient poſſeſsions, which by the valour of our Anceſtors were gained from them.*

This you may aſſure your ſelf, Manet alta mente repoſtum, *and makes you more to be hated of them than any other of the* Engliſh *Nation whatſoever. The danger therefore being thus common to us all, it ſtands us upon to joyn our beſt helps for the avoiding of it, only the* manner *how this may be effected is in queſtion. It was wont to be ſaid,* Iniquum petas ut æquum feras, *and ſuch perhaps might be the intent of the Project, the other day propounded unto you; but now I obſerve the diſtaſte you have conceived againſt that, hath ſo far poſſeſſed you, that you can hardly be drawn to liſten to any equal motion. The* Exceptions *taken*

ken againſt the Project, are partly general, *made by all; partly* ſpecial *that toucheth only ſome particulars, of the* former *there are two, the* quantity *of the ſum demanded, and the* indefiniteneſs of the time, *which is unlimited; for the proportion required for the maintenance of Five thouſand Foot and Five hundred horſe you alledge to be ſo great, and your means ſo ſmall, that in undertaking that which you are no ways able to perform, you ſhould but delude His Majeſty, and diſappoint the Army of their expected pay. And although the ſum required were far leſs, and for a time able to be borne by you, yet are you fearful that the payment being continued for ſome number of years, may afterwards be continued, as a conſtant revenue to His* Majeſties Exchequer *with which perpetual burden you are unwilling to charge your Poſterity.*

The Exceptions of the ſecond *kind are taken againſt the grants annexed unto the former demands, the granting whereof ſeemed rather to hinder then further the Service, as not ſo agreeing with the Rules of* Equity; *for* firſt *ſome have the full benefits of the grants, and have their charge little augmented, as the Countrys which pay compoſition Rents, which by thoſe grants during the time of the New payments are ſuſpended.* Secondly, *others that have the charge of the payment impoſed upon them to the full, are not Partakers at all of the benefit of the grants, as the* Britiſh *planted in the ſix eſcheated Countys of* Ulſter. *Thirdly ſuch as are moſt forward to further His Majeſties Service, and to contribute with the Moſt, are troubled in Conſcience for yielding thereto upon the Terms propoſed, eſpecially for that Condition whereby the Execution of the Statute againſt Recuſants is offered to be forborne.*

Wherin

Wherein if ſome of my Bretheren the Biſhops *have been thought to have ſhewed themſelves more forward then wiſe in preaching publiquely againſt this kind of Toleration; I hope the great charge laid upon them by your ſelves in Parliament, wherein that Statute was enacted will plead their excuſe. For there the* Lords Temporal, *and all the* Commons do in Gods name earneſtly require and charge all Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops and other ordinaries, that they ſhall endeavor themſelves to the utmoſt of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this Statute may be had throughout their Dioceſſes, and charged as they will anſwer it before God, for ſuch Evils and Plagues as Almighty God might juſtly puniſh his people for neglecting thoſe good and wholeſome Laws, *So that if in this caſe they had holden their tongues, they might have been cenſured little better then* Atheiſts, *and made themſelves acceſſary to the drawing down of Gods heavy vengance upon the people.* *Stat. Hyb. 28. Eliz.*

But if for theſe and ſuch like Cauſes the former Project *will not be admitted, we muſt not therefore think our ſelves diſcharged from taking further care to provide for our ſafeties. Other conſultations muſt be had, and other courſes thought upon which need not to be liable to the like Exceptions; where the burthen is borne in common, and the ayde required to be given to the Prince by his Subjects that are of* different Judgments *in Religion, it ſtands not with the ground of common Reaſon, that ſuch a condition, ſhould be annexed unto the Gift, as muſt of neceſsity deter the one party from giving at all, upon ſuch Tearms as are repugnant to their* Conſciences. *As therefore on the* one ſide, *if we deſire that the* Recuſants *ſhould joyn with us in granting of a common aid, we ſhould not put in the*

condition of executing the Statute, which we are ſure they would not yield unto; ſo on the other ſide, if they will have us to joyn with them in the like contribution they ſhould not require the condition of ſuſpending the Statute to be added, which we in conſcience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his Majeſty what we give, without all manner of condition that may ſeem unequal unto any ſide, and to refer unto his own ſacred breaſt how far he will be pleaſed to extend or abridge his Favours, of whoſe Lenity in forbearing the executing of the Statute, our Recuſants have found ſuch experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, then now already they do freely enjoy.

As for the fear that this voluntary contribution may in time be made a matter of Neceſsity, and impoſed as a perpetual charge upon poſterity, it may eaſily be holpen, with ſuch a clauſe as we find added in the grant of an ayde made by the Popes Council An. 11. H. 3. out of the Eccleſiaſtical Profits of this Land, Quod non debet trahi in conſuetudinem, of which kinds of Grants, many other Examples of later memory might be produced, and as for the proportion of the ſum which you thought to be ſo great in the former propoſition, it is my Lords deſire that you ſhould ſignifie unto him, what you think you are well able to bear, and what your ſelves will be content voluntarily to proffer. To alledge as you have done, that you are not able to bear ſo great a charge, as was demanded may ſtand with ſome reaſon, but to plead an unability to give any thing at all, is neither agreeable to reaſon or duty.

Pat. 4n. 11. Hen. 3. in Turr. Lond.

You ſay you are ready to ſerve the King as your Anceſtors did heretofore with your bodys and lives, as if the ſupply of the Kings wants with monys, were a thing unknown to our

Fore-

Fore-fathers. But if you will ſearch the Pipe-Rolls *you ſhall finde the names of thoſe who contributed to King* Henry *the third for a matter that did leſs concern the Subjects of this Kingdom, then the help that is now demanded, namely for the marrying of his Siſter to the* Emperor. *Pat. An. 3. Hen. 3. Membran. 9.*

In the Records of the ſame King kept in England, *we finde his Letters Patents directed hither into* Ireland, *for levying of money to help to pay his debts unto* Lewis *the Son of the King of* France. *In the Rolls of* Gaſconie *we finde the like Letter directed by King* Edward the Second *unto the Gentlemen and Merchants of* Ireland, *of whoſe names there is a Liſt there ſet down, to give him aid in his Expedition into* Aquitain, *and for defence of his Land (which is now the thing in queſtion.) We finde an Ordinance likewiſe made in the time of* Edward the Third, *for the perſonall taking of them that lived in* England, *and held Lands and Tenements in* Ireland. *Pat. Gaſcony 18 Edw. 2. membr. 25. indors. Pat. an. 44. Edw. 3. m. 17. cb. Turr. Lond.*

Nay in this Caſe you muſt give me leave as a Divine *to tell you plainly, that* to ſupply the King with means for the neceſſary defence of your Country, is not a thing left to your own diſcretion, either to doe or not to doe, but a matter of duty, which in conſcience you ſtand bound to perform.

The Apoſtle Rom. 13. *having affirmed that we* muſt be ſubject to the higher powers, not only for wrath but for Conſcience ſake; *adds this as a reaſon to confirm it*, for, for this cauſe you pay Tribute alſo, *as if the denying of ſuch payment, could not ſtand with conſcionable Subjection; thereupon he inferres this concluſion.* Render therefore unto all their due; tribute to whom tribute, cuſtome to whom cuſtome is due. *Agreeable*

to that known leſſon which he had learned of our Saviour
Math. 22. 21. Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſars, and unto God the things which are Gods : *Where you may obſerve that as to with-hold from God the things which are Gods, man is ſaid to be a* Robber of God : *whereof he*
Mal. 3. 8. *himſelf thus complaineth in caſe of ſubtracting of* Tythes *&* Oblations : *So to deny a ſupply to* Cæſar *of ſuch means as are neceſſary for the ſupport of his Kingdom, can be accounted no leſs then a* Robbing *of him, of that which is his due, which I wiſh you ſeriouſly to ponder, and to think better of yielding ſomthing to this preſent Neceſsity, that we may not return from you an undutifull anſwer, which may juſtly be diſpleaſing to his Majeſty.*

ROM.

ROM. 13. 2.

Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves Damnation.

THe former Chapter may be called the Apoſtles *Ethicks*; this his *Politicks*; in the former he had taught them their dutys *one to another*, in this, towards the *Magiſtrate*. And for this ſubject, *De officio ſubditorum* both St. *Peter*, and this our Apoſtle are very often and copious upon, not only in *this* Epiſtle, but in divers *others*, inculcating it as his *laſt* words to *Timothy* and *Titus*, chargeing them to teach it to the generation ſucceeding, 1 *Tim.* 2. 1. & 3. 1. And (*a*) ſome *Expoſitors* conceive one Cauſe to be the *Rumor* then falſly raiſed upon the Apoſtles, as if they had been *Seditious Innovators of the Roman Laws*, and the *Kingdom* of Chriſt preached by them, tended to the abſolving Subjects

Plurima tunc temporis circumferebatur fama traducens Apoſtolos veluti ſeditioſos verumque novatores, &c.

jects from their obedience to *any other*. Whose mouths he here stops in shewing that the laws of Christ were not induced for the *overturning* the Civil, but *confirming*; not *abolishing*, but *establishing* and making them the more *sacred*. Abhorring those *tumultuous* spirits who under pretext of Religion and Christian liberty, run into Rebellion as if there could be no perfect service of Christ, *nisi excusso terrenæ potestatis jugo*, without casting off the yoak of earthly power.

In the text it self he exhorts to a *Loyall subjection* from these two principall Arguments. First, from the *Originall* of *Regall* Power, *ordained of God*; Secondly the *Penalty* of resisting it, threatned as from God himself; *They shall receive to themselves damnation.*

Every word in the Text hath its *Emphasis*.

Whosoever] See how he commands a *subjection* without *exception* as in the former verse, *Let every soul*; *Omnis Anima, si Apostolus sis, si Evangelista, si Prepheta, sive quisquis tandem fueris* (as S. *Chrysostom* upon the place.)

Resisteth] ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος which implies how all preparative *Ordering* of forces & *Risings* to that end (as the *Syriack* renders it *qui insurgit*) are condemned, as a violation of Gods Ordinance; not only an *actuall* resistance by *open* force in the field, commonly called *Rebellion* (like that of *Absolom* against *David*, *Jeroboam* against *Rehoboam*) but all *secret* undermining of a Prince by fraud and falsehood tending to it.

The Power] 'Tis observable the Apostle rather mentions the *power* then the *person* armed with it, to teach us we should not so much mind the *worth* of the person as the *authority* it self he bears. We acknowledge that sacred *Apothegme* of the Apostle (*Acts* 5. 29.) *'tis better*

ter to obey God then man: but both may be at once obeyed: God *actively*, and the Magiſtrate *paſſively*, as the Apoſtles themſelves then did.

The Ordinance of God.] As if Rebellion were *Giant-like*, (b) *waging of war with God himſelf*, as St. *Chryſoſtome* hath it, which fully checks that *proud* conceit of ſome (*viz.*) that being made heirs of *God*, they are no longer to be made ſubject to *man*.

b) ὁ μὲν γὰρ πολεμῶν ἐκείνῳ τῷ θεῷ πολεμεῖ. in Rom. hom. 23.

Receive to themſelves damnation.] As the Rebellion is *againſt* God, ſo *from* God the penalty is threatned, and *that not* (c) a *common one*, *but exceeding heavy*, as St. *Chryſoſtom* upon it. The Vulgar Latin reads it, *Ipſi ſibi damnationem acquirunt*, implying the vanity & madneſs of it, *Nemo enim ſanus ſeipſum ladit*, Men that run their heads againſt a *Rock*, hurt themſelves, not it: and ſo in concluſion Rebels ſeek their own ruine, and *bring upon themſelves ſwift damnation* 2 *Pet.* 2.

(c) ἐχθρὰν ἀπειλοῦσι τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπειλοῦσι γὰρ οὐ μικρὰν κόλασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφοδρὰν καὶ βαρυτάτην. in Rom. hom. 23.

By this ſhort *Paraphraſe* upon the words, theſe two obſervations may be deduced: Firſt, that *Regal power* is derived from God: Secondly, that it is *not lawfull for Subjects* to take up Arms in the *reſiſtance of it* without being *fighters againſt God*, *and in peril of damnation.*

The firſt is ſo apparent that I need not inſiſt upon it: 'Tis acknowledged even by heathens ἐκ Διὸς βασιλῆες called διογενεῖς διοτρεφεῖς, *&c.* You ſee it *de facto* in the old Teſtament *Moſes* (who was *King in Jeſhurun*) was appointed of *God*, and *Joſhua* ſucceeding him, the *Judges as Elective Kings* were raiſed by him alſo: *Saul*, *David*, *&c.* 'Tis the complaint of God (*Hoſea* the 8.) *fecerunt reges, ſed non ex me*; They have made themſelves Kings, but not by me. God, who is the God

d) Deut. 33. 5.

of

of Order, *and not of Confusion*, was pleased from the very first to take care of constituting a successive *Monarchy*; *The first-born* was his own establishment in his speech to *Cain* (though a *bad*, and his Brother *Abel* a *righteous* person) only by right of his *primogeniture* (*Gen* 4. 9.) *his desire shall be subject to thee, and thou shalt rule over him*, from whence it succeeded in *Jacobs* family (*Gen.* 49 28.) Ruben *thou art my first born, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power* (Ῥοξίας. & ἐξουσίας honor and authority) (*i, e.*) the *supremacy* of both, and when he with *Symeon* and *Levy* for their severall crimes were disinherited by their father, and the primogeniture fallen to *Judah*; to him it was said, *thou art he whom thy brethren shall honour, thy Fathers children shall bow down unto thee* (ver. 10.) to whom the *Scepter* was given, and the *gathering* or Assemblies of the People. That as in the *creation* in the *Natural* government of the world God made *one ruler of the day*, the *Sun*, the sole fountain of *Light* (for the *Moon* and *Starres* are but as a Vice Roy or subordinate Governors, deriving theirs from him:) so was it in the *Civil* Government also.

As *God* (*by whom Kings reign*, and who have the Title of God given them, *I have said ye are Gods*) *is one*; so was he pleased to represent himself *in one* accordingly, and in the Text *ordained* by him.

1. Object. There is a place which the adversaries of this doctrine much insist upon, 'tis out of S. *Peter* 1. *Epist.* c. 2. 13. where he calls a Magistrate an *Ordinance of man*: *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man* (as we render it) *for the Lords sake, whether to the King as supreme, or Governors sent by him, &c.*

The

The Anſwer is ready, that this is no ways a contradiction to St. *Paul* in this Text; for,

1. By an *humane Ordinance* he doth not meane an humane *Invention*, but *quia inter homines inſtitutam*, becauſe it was ordained or appointed among or over men, called humane, *reſpectu termini ſive ſubjecti*, but yet divine, *reſpectu authoris primarii*.

The word κτίσις, which we render *Ordinance* (being, as (e) *Rivetus* obſerveth) *never ſo taken throughout the Scripture* were better rendred *Creature* (which it properly ſignifies) as the vulgar Latine doth it, *omni humanæ creaturæ*, to every humane creature. Now creature is frequently taken for what is *eminent* and *excellent*, as if the ſenſe were, ſubmit your ſelves *to all that do excell*, or are *eminent amongſt or over men*, according to the next words, *whether to the King*, ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, that *excelleth*: and the *Hebrews* do ſometimes by a *Creation* imply a Rare and *Eminent* thing, *Num.* 16. 30. *Si creationem creaverit deus*, i. e. if the *Lord make a new or rare* thing, To which agrees that of our Saviour in his laſt words to his Apoſtles, *Mark* 16. 15. *Preach the Goſpell to every Creature*, i. e. *man*: Becauſe of his excellencie above all ſublunary Creatures. (f) And thus *why may not the King for the ſame cauſe, be ſo called* here. So that St. *Peter* is ſo far from denying *Regal Power* to be ordained of God, that he rather confirms it. (g) *A Creature, therefore the act of the Creator*, and by way of *excellency*, therefore *of God the ſole original of it, and for the Lords ſake*, i. e. *who hath ſo* ordained *him, or whom he repreſents*.

(e) *In Decalog. Præc.* 5. *Nomen creaturæ, (ſic enim malim vocem* κτίσις *reddere, quam per ordinationem, cum nullibi in Scriptura tali ſenſu reperiatur uſurpata) accipi poteſt pro eminentia ut ſenſus ſit, ſubjecti eſſote eis qui inter homines eminent, ſicut immediate addit ſive Regi ὡς ὑπερέχοντι, quaſi explicare voluiſſet ambiguam vocem* κτίσεως.

(f) *Sic quid ni à Petro hic per excellentiam Rex dicitur, humana Creatura quia inter reliquos homines eminet. ibidem.*

(g) Ibid. *quia dicatur Creatura, ideo originem eſt omnis actus creatoris & humana per excellentiam, ideo a Deo originem traxiſſe qui excellentia, quod ſequentia etiam confirmant, διὰ τὸν κύριον propter dominum, i. e. quia eum inſtituit dominus.*

2 *Object.* *Answer*

For that objection of *Saul's* being *elected* by the *people*; the contrary appears (1 *Sam.* 12. 8. 5.) where *Samuel* saith thus to them, *Dominus constituit regem super vos*, and they to *Samuel* as a Delegate from God, *Constitue nobis Regem*, who in the name of God proposed to them *jus Regis*. And though *Saul* was elected by a *Sacred Lot*, yet ye have not the like again after him in *David*, *Solomon*, or any other, but they succeeded *jure hereditario*.

3 *Object.* *Answer*

But have evil Kings their power from God,

Indeed *as evil*, they are not of him, because no evil can descend from him, *from whom every good and perfect gift* doth, (though for the sins of people, God may justly permit such) but we must sever their *personal* staines as *men*, from their lawfull Authority received of *God*, which looseth not its essence by such an *accession*, 'tis no true maxime, *Dominium fundatur in gratia*, St. *Paul* applys that of *Exod* 22. to *Ananias*, Acts 23, *Thou shalt not speak evil of the Ruler of thy people*, though he commanded him unjustly to be smitten. *Pilate* condemning *Innocency* it self, our *Saviour* acknowledgeth his power to have been *from above, thou couldst not have any power over me, Nisi tibi data esset desuper.* Claudius *or* Nero (whom elsewhere St. *Paul* calls a *Lyon*) reigned when he writ this Epistle, and is doubtless included in the verse before the Text: the *powers that be* (*i. e.* now in being) *are ordained of God*, and exhorts to pay unto him as the *Minister of God* the due of *Tribute*, *Custome*, *Fear*, *Honour*, *&c.* *Daniel* acknowledgeth *Nebuchadnezzars* dominion and Kingdom to have been given him of God, which copy the *Fathers* of the Primitive Church under *Christianity* we find to have wrote after.

Con-

Conſtantius was an Arrian, and had exiled many of the Orthodox Biſhops, yet * *Athanaſius* in his Apology to them ſaith thus, *God hath given the Empire to him, whoſoever ſhall with an evil eye reproach it, doth contrary to Gods Ordinance.*

(*h*) *Tertullian* ſaith thus to the Emperor *Severus* in his Apologie for the Chriſtians, *We muſt needs have him in great honor whom our Lord hath choſen, that I may truly ſay* Cæſar *is rather ours then yours, as being conſtituted by our God,* acknowledging him * *next to God, and leſs then God only,* according to that known ſpeech of *Optatus* * *Super Imperatorem non eſt niſi ſolus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem:* There is none above the Emperor but God only, who made him Emperor. And ſurely in the *Text* St. *Paul* can mean no other by the *Powers*, but the *Roman Empire* and *Heathens*, for none that were *Chriſtians* had then any dominion. And ſo much for the firſt, that Kings and their Royal Power are of Gods ordination.

* *Apol. ad Conſtant. Tibi Deus Imperium commiſit qui tuum imperium malignis oculis carpit contradicit ordinationi divinæ.*

(h) *Apolog. Neceſſe eſt ut ſuſpiciamus eum quem Dominus noſter elegit, & merito dixerim, noſter eſt magis Cæſar ut a noſtro deo conſtitutus.*

(i) *colimus Imperatorem ut hominem a deo ſecundum, & ſolo deo minorem. ad ſcapul.*

This ſuppoſed, *the ſecond point* neceſſarily follows (which we ſhall a little longer inſiſt upon) *viz.* that *it is not lawfull for Subjects to take up Arms againſt their lawfull Prince* without being *fighters againſt God*, and running the hazard of *damnation*, according to the Text, *They that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* 2.

The (*k*) *Phariſees* (as *Joſephus* tells us) *a ſubtle kind of men, proud, ſcrupulous about the Law,* wherein they placed their Religion, having a *ſeeming ſhew of piety,*

(k) *Phariſæi genus hominum aſtutum, arrogans, de ſcrupulositate paterna legis gloriantes, & ſpeciem pietatis ſimulantes, Cæſari (etſi cuncta gens ſua laica, jurejurando juraſſet) fidelitatem jurare recuſaverint, imo, qui numero erant ſupra ſex millia, Regibus adeo inſeſti fuerunt ut eos aperte oppugnare auſi fuerint* Joſephus. Antiq 17. cap. 3.

took themselves to be of *exempt jurisdiction*, and being *about* 6000. besides their party among the people which they had influence upon, stiffly *refused to take the Oath of Allegiance to Cæsar*, (and indeed were the first we read of that did so, *for the whole Nation of the Jews had done it*) *and were great opposites to Regal power*. There are too many who of late years have trod in their steps, one writes a seditious book, as an *Anonymus*, *another* puts a *feigned name* to it, by which dissimulation they shew what is to be thought of the thing it self: *Nam qui luce indigna tractat, lucem fugit*, some of whom being of the *vulgar*, (and each are most apt to advance their own Order) have so promoted the pretended right of the *people*, that not being satisfied in *quitting* of Subjects from their obedience to their King, they have also (subverting the very course of Nature) given the people power *over* their King, And I wish the *Jesuites* only had given their votes to these *paradoxes*, but (which is the more to be lamented) there are some of our *own*, at least bearing the name, who either out of an overmuch desire to be *heads* of parties, or drawn to it like *Baalam* for the *wages of unrighteousness*, have to the Scandall of our profession) delivered the same opinion with the *Jesuits*, and have taken their *arguments* out of them.

(l) *Principem esse propter populum principatum esse ex lege & authoritate humana. Populum nunquam ita suam potestatem in regem transferre, quin illam sibi in habitu retineat, & in certis casibus, etiam actu recipere possit* l. 5. de Pontif. c. 8. *quod* lib. c. 8. *Confirmat exemplis* Oziæ & Athalia, *qui ope populi, a solio fuerunt dejecti*.

(l) *Bellarmine* in his first book *de pontifice Romano cap.* 8. affirms, *That the Prince was made for the People, That Principality is from humane Law and Authority, That the People can never so farre transferre their Power*

over

over to a King, but they retain the habit of it ſtill within themſelves, and in ſome caſes may actually reaſſume it; which he confirms (in his 5. book cap. 8.) by the *Examples of Ozia* and *Athalia*, who were *depoſed* by the *people*; Theſe have been the Aſſertions of ſome of our *own*, urged in the ſame ſenſe and manner.

Who hath not heard of theſe *Maximes* (*m*) *So long as a King keeps his obligation, the people are obliged to theirs; he that governs as he ought, may expect to be accordingly obeyed. They that conſtitute may depoſe, &c.* But are not theſe tranſcribed out of the *aforenamed Writers.*

(m) *Si principes promiſſa ſervet, & nos ſervabimus: Bene imperanti, bene obtemperandū: Ad quem pertinet inſtitutio ad eundem deſtitutio.*

It was the ſpeech of the * *Biſhop af Ments* when the Emperor *Henry the fourth's* depoſing was agitated. *Quem meritum inveſtivimus quare non immeritum deveſtiamus, i.e.* Him while wel meriting we inveſted with the Empire, why may not we for his unworthineſs diſinveſt again; (*n*) *Gregory the ſeventh* (vulgarly *Hildebrand*) the Patron of *Rebellious* ſubjects endeavoured to draw them away from the Emperor, *Quemadmodum militem ignavem imperator, &c. i.e.* as the Emperor may *Caſhier a ſluggiſh Souldier* that neglects his duty in the Camp: *So may the ſouldiery put off or deſert an unfit King or Emperor. The Obligations of Subjects are quitted if Princes recede from theirs.* Thus much to ſhew how neer of kin ſuch are to the *Sea of Rome*, which is a profeſſed Adverſary to Regall power, according to St. *Pauls* deſcription of *that man of ſin*, 2 *Theſ.* 2. 10. *Who oppoſeth himſelf againſt all that is called God*, i. e. *Kings* ſo called in *Pſalms.*

* *Helmold in Chron. Slau.*

(n) *Avent. 5. annal.*

* *Si ab articulis recedant principes non debet obligatio nocere ſubditis, ibid.*

But now leaving theſe *Parallels*, let us come to the matter it ſelf, and prove what we have aſſerted, both out

out of *holy Writ*, the *ancient Fathers*, and *Practice* of the *Primitive Church*, who we ſhall finde have not limited their loyalty within that narrow compaſs, *viz.* the *Kings defence of the true Religion*, but continued it under their oppoſition to it.

Firſt, That thoſe who have or ſhall preſume *thus* to reſiſt, doe tread under feet the *holy Scriptures*; appears by the whole current of them.

Suppoſe an *unjuſt*, *cruel*, *bloody* act in a *King*. Was not *David* in that ſenſe *vir ſanguinis* in the *perfidious murther of Uriah*, after his Adultery with his wife *Bathſheba*: And for my part I ſee not wherein that of *Ahab* in the Murther of *Naboth* doth exceed it, both unjuſtly cauſed a *Subject* to be ſlain; *Ahab* only out of a deſire to his *Vinyard*, but *David* to his wife. Did not *Solomon Apoſtatize* when to pleaſe his wives and concubines (whom he married out of the Nations whereof God had given him a charge to the contrary) he *tollerated* the worſhipping of *Idols*, in building houſes for each of them, and *went after them* alſo himſelf. *Aſa* oppreſſed the people, caſt the Prophet into priſon that came with a meſſage of God unto him. 2 Chron. 16.

Yet we never read that God gave any *Commiſsion* to the *People*, either for theſe or any other (farre more degenerating) any liberty to diſturb them in their Regall government: For *David*, God puniſhed him in his ſon *Abſolon*. *Solomon* was diſturbed by *Hadad* the Edomite, and *Rezon* a Servant of *Hadadazer King of Zobah*. Againſt *Aſa* God ſent ſome *forreign* Kings; Againſt *Ahaz* came the Kings of *Aſsiria*: *Hezekiah's* pride was puniſhed by *Sennacherib*, *Manaſſes* Idolatry & bloodſhed by the *Babylonians*, *Ahab* ſlain at *Ramoth Gilead* by

2 Chron. 16.
2 Chron. 18.
2 Chron. 22.
Cap. 33.

by the *King of Syriah*: but for the *People*, either ſome or the whole, ye find not an inſtance where power was given them, to the offering any violence to them.

Who was ever worſe and more obſtinate then *Ahab* to all *Rapine*, *Murther* and *Idolotry*, who gave himſelf to work wickedneſs; but were ever the *People* exhorted by any *Prophet* to withdraw their obedience from him, or gather head againſt him? For his *poſterity* God indeed extraordinarily gives a ſpecial Commiſſion by *Eliſha* to *Jehu* to deſtroy it, but ye doe not find the people of themſelves here, or elſewhere ſo much as attempting it, or encouraged by the *Prophets* perſecuted by them ſo to do; which if it had been in their power, we ſhould have found ſome preſident or other for it. 2 Kin. 9. & 10.

What was the cauſe *David* was ſo carefull that his *hand* might not be upon *Saul*, though doubtleſs he had the *hearts* of the *better*, if not the *greateſt* part of the people, and ſometimes *Saul* was, as from God himſelf given up into his hands: And he was not altogether a *private* Subject; but was heir of the Crown after him, being already *annointed* to it, and none could have a better pretence: *Saul* was now ſeeking his life, and injuriouſly perſecuting him by *force* and *fraud*, yet he would not *lay his hands upon him*; what can be imagined to be the Cauſe, but that it was againſt the *doctrine* then received.

Who knows not, that *Saul* was become an abſolute *Tyrant* (which ſome think to be the ſenſe of 1 *Sam.* 13. *Saul reigned two yeers*, &c. i. e. *Quaſi biennium tantum ut Rex reliquum temporis ut Tyrannus.*) rejected by *Samuel*: The Kingdome rent from him given to *David*, yet ye never read of *Samuel* moving *David* to get poſ-

ſeſſion

ſeſſion by force of Armes; he *mourned* for *Saul*, but never ſtirred up any diſturbance in the Kingdome againſt him, but patiently expected Gods determination.

(o) *Optatus* elegantly enlargeth himſelf thus upon it, David *had* Saul *his enemy in his hands, might have ſecurely ſlaine him, without the blood of any others, his ſervants and the opportunity moved him to it, but the full remembrance of Gods commands to the contrary with-held him, he drew back his hand and ſword, and whileſt he reverenced the oyntment he ſpared his enemy, and when he had compleated his loyalty, revenged his death* (*i. e.*) in the Amalekite.)

(o) *Lib. 2. adverſ. Parmen.* David. *inimicum habebat in manibus incautum & ſecurum adverſarium, ſine labore potuit jugulare, & ſine ſanguine, multorum bellis mutare in cædem, pueri ejus & opportunitas ſuadebant ad victoriam, &c. ſed obſtabat plena divinorũ memoria mandatorum: repreſſit cum gladio manum, & dum timuit oleum ſervavit inimicum, &c. & cum compleret obſervantiam, vindicavit occiſum.*

We doe not ſay men are bound to doe whatever the Prince ſhall command againſt the *Law of God and Nature*, but yet neither doe we ſay, we may by force take up Armes againſt him: he ſaid well *Scutum dandum eſt ſubditis, non gladius*: The *three children* refuſed to obey the command of *Nebuchadnezzar* in worſhipping his golden Image; and *Daniel Darius* his Edict in praying for thirty dayes to none but to him, (as a new erected *Numen*) but yet they reſiſted not when they were queſtioned and call d to ſuffer for it. *Elias* withdrew himſelf from *Jezebell* and *Ahabs* bloody fury, yet ye doe not read him tampering with thoſe *many thouſands hid in* Samaria, by any ſecret Machinations againſt him, but were all patiently paſſive, and committed themſelves to God that *judgeth righteouſly*: When *Peter* drew his Sword againſt the preſent power, though under the beſt defenſive pretence, yet was bid to put it up, with a check as if it had been upon a private quarrell, *qui accipit gladium gladio peribit. Roſſæus* a Romaniſt hath indeed publiſhed a Book, *De juſta Republicæ*

Reipublicæ in Principem hæreticum poteſtate, not bluſhing to (a) *averre* the contrary to what we have aſſerted, *viz.* That the *Iſraelites did often make inſurrections againſt their Kings, even of the ſtock of* David, *and with Gods approbation*, but inſtanceth in none to any purpoſe.

(*) *cap. 9. Judæi, ſæpe contra proprios Reges, etiam à Davidica ſtirpe, approbante Deo inſurrexiſſe, legunt.*

'Tis true (as he ſaith) *Atheliah* was depoſed, but 'twas from her uſurpation. *Hezekiah* ſhook off the yoak of the King of *Aſſyria*, to the ſervice of whom he had no juſt obligation. The *Judges* before *Samuels* time did the like in delivering themſelves and the *Iſraelites* from their ſeveral ſervitudes. *Abſolon* was ſuppreſſed by the ſame way of Force, he had moſt perfidiouſly and wickedly attempted his Fathers *Crown*, but what are theſe inſtances to a *lawful* Prince, or to ſuch as are Subjects. Some I find thus endeavoring to evade the *Text*, by diſtinguiſhing between the *Power* and the *Perſon*; as if this and the like were to be underſtood, only *de poteſtate in abſtracto*. But certainly St. *Peter* applys it cleerly *in concreto*, to the *Perſon* of the *King*: *Regi quaſi præcellenti & Magiſtratibus* ab eo *miſsis*, as in the next, *Fear God, honor the King*. Neither can that Speech of *Davids* be otherwiſe meant then of the *Perſon of* Saul. *God forbid that I ſhould do this thing unto my Maſter the Lords* annointed, *to ſtretch forth my hand againſt him ſeeing he is the annointed of the Lord*; 'Tis not the Power that is annointed; but the Perſon who by it is deſigned to the Power.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

1 Sam. 24. 6.

Again 'tis very probable, that St. *Paul* writing to the *Romans*, in this expreſsion here of *Powers*, conformed himſelf to their *Stile*. Who as *Berclaius* obſerves out of *Pliny*, *Suetonius* and *Tertullian*, do very frequently take, the *Abſtract*, for the *Concrete*, *i. e.* the *Power* for the *Perſon* armed with it.

Lib. 3. cap. 10.

There is another argumentation ſtill in the mouths of many, *viz. That Princes receive their power from the people, and ſo may be abridged accordingly by them.*

But firſt let ſuch know from whence they had this, even from the *Jeſuites*, or the like (for many other Authors of the Church of *Rome* are againſt it.) *Alphonſus de Caſtro* (*de poteſtate Leg. Pœn. lib.* 1.) and *Vaſques* (*lib.* 1. *controverſ. cap.* 47.) averre it, and call all power *Tyrannical*, that not by the *people*. It was that which *Pope Zachariah* ſuggeſted to the *French* for deposing of *Childerick* their King. (*b*) *That the people who conſtituted him may as well depoſe him; the Prince is obnoxious to the people, by whom he poſſeſſeth that Honor.* Unto which agrees that of (*c*) *Anguſtinus Triumphus de Anchona*, (who by the Sea of *Rome* hath the Title of *Beatus* given him.) *That th Pope may depoſe the Emperor who can deny it, for he that conſtitutes can depoſe*, whoſe practice in ſtory hath been accordingly, *Henry the Fourth the Emperor*, and (*d*) *Childerick the Third, the French* King, were by *Pope Gregory the Seventh*, the latter of which was depoſed, as the Hiſtorian ſaith, *non pro ſuis iniquitatibus, ſed quod inutilis eſſet tantæ poteſtati*, as (*e*) *Carolus Craſſus*, the Germans and *Italians* withdrew their obedience from him, by the *Papal approbation*, only *ob ſegnitiem corporis ingeniique traditatem*, though otherwiſe *a moſt pious, devout and vertuous Prince*, according to which is the *Argument* and *Application* of (f) *Brllarmine*, *Conſtituens eſt prius conſtituto; ſubditi vero conſtituunt Reges: Principes ſunt propter populum, ergo populus eſt nobilior.*

(b) Avent. lib 3. Annal. *Regem cum plebs conſtituit, eundem & deſtituere poteſt. Princeps populo, cujus beneficio poſſid. obnoxius eſt.*

(c) *De poteſtate Eccleſ. q.* 22. *Art.* 3. *Imperatorem à Papa poſſe depoſi, ſi juſ ibit inſtitia, ejus enim eſt eum deponere, cujus eſt conſtituere.*

(d) *Trithem. lib* 1. *compend. Annal. de ori. Reg & Gent. Franc.*

(e) *Platina in Stepb.* 6. *Princeps qui alias fuit Chriſtianiſſimus deum timens, Eccleſiaſticis ſanctioribus devotiſſime parens in Eleemoſynis largus orationibus in*

deſinenter deditus. & . Et tamen tam bis tot, & tantis virtutibus non effugit Carolus notam Tyranni & depoſitus juſta ſubditis. (f) *In Recogn. lib.* 3. *q. de laicis.*

But

But ſecondly tis of no force in it ſelf. The *Paſtor* is for the good of the *Flock*. The *maſter* of the family is for the welfare of *it*: *forma eſt propter actionem*, is therefore *actio nobilior formâ*? Again a *ſervant* voluntarily binds himſelf to a *Maſter*, and after a manner *conſtitutes* him over him, What? can he at pleaſure withdraw himſelf again. 2.

Again theſe men conſider not of the *Oath of God* taken of *Subjects* to their King, which *Solomon* mentions, *Eccleſ.* 8, 2. *I councel thee to keep the Kings commandments, and that becauſe of the Oath of God.* 3.

They have likewiſe but little eſteem of St. *Pauls* Judgement in the Text, viz. *that the powers are of God, and ordained of God*; That they *bear the ſword of the Lord*, and are *his miniſters*. And indeed few Kings have *originally* come to their Crowns by the *people*, but moſt frequently as one obſerves, *invitis ſubditis, Belli jure (ſi hoc jus ſit dicendum) prima regnandi feciſſe fundamenta*: but after an Oath of an Allegiance the bonds are depoſited in Gods hand; ſo that the whole argumentation is both *unchriſtian* and *irrational*, and rejected by us as the Doctrine of *ſome Romaniſts*, which ſuch as are ſo afraid to come neer them in any thing elſe, ſhould be as much deterred in this. 4.

In a word, as Kings receive their *power from God*: ſo are we to *leave them only unto God*, if they ſhall abuſe it, not but that they may and ought to be prudently and humbly reminded of their duties (for which we have the example of the Primitive Fathers & Biſhops to the Emperors, *Conſtantius*, *Conſtans*, and others, introducing *Arianiſm*) but yet without lifting up our hands againſt them in the leaſt reſiſtance of them, which is the

Judgement alſo of moſt of our *Modern Orthodox* Divines and even divers of the Writers of *the Church of Rome*, who have ſtiffey contradicted the *Feſuites* aſſertions of the contrary, one of each ſhall ſuffice.

1. *For thoſe of ours*, (g) *Franciſcus Junius* thus determines: *All good men ſhould bear even the moſt cruel injury from the magiſtrate, rather then enveigh againſt him by word, pen, or action, to the diſturbance of order and the publick peace*, according to which ſee *Luther* (*lob. de offic. magiſtr. Tom. 2.*) *Brentius* (*Hom. 27. in cap. 8. lib. 1. Sam.*) *Melanthon, Bucer, Muſculus, Matheſius Eraſmus*, and others.

2. For thoſe of the *Church of Rome* (h) *Gregorius Tholoſanus*: *Governours* (ſaith he) *are rather to be left to the Judgement of God then to defile our hands by a Rebellion againſt them. God wants not means whereby he can (when he pleaſeth) remove or amend them. If there be an evil Government, farre be it from us to revenge it by an evil obedience, or to puniſh the ſins of the King by our own ſins, but rather by a patient bearing, to mollify the wrath of God, who governs the hearts of Kings with his own hands, &c.*

And ſurely if it be a (i) *terrible thing* for any man *to fall into the hands of the living God*, much more is it to them, who are *only accomptable* to him, and the Juſtice of God hath been often notoriouſly manifeſted upon them, in *ſacred* ſtory. *Abimelec, Jeroboam, Baaſa, Ahab*, both the *Herods*. In *Eccleſiaſticall* ſtory. *Anaſtaſius, Julian, Valens*, and others. So much for holy writ.

Now *ſecondly* let me demonſtrate this out of the *antient*

(g) De. Tranſlat. imp. lib. 1 c 2. *Omnes injurias a Magiſtratu potius ferunt boni, quam atrociſſimus, quàm ut in eum invehunt, ſermone, ſcripto, opere, ad ordinis & pacis publicæ perturbationem.*

(h) *potius relinquendi ſunt mali regnantes judicio dei quâ polluendæ manus per rebellionem; non caret Deus modis quibus poſſit, quando voluerit hujuſmodi malos principes tollere, vel emendare: Malum ſi ſit Imperium non eſt quod male obediendo ulciſci debeamus, aut peccatum Regis peccatis noſtris punire, ſed potius patienter ferendo iram Dei emolliere, qui corda Regum ſuâ gubernat. manu, &c. lib. 26. de repub. c. 5.*

(i) *Heb.* 10. 31.

antient Fathers, and *practiſe of the Primitive Church* in theſe three things.

1. After the example of *Jeremiah* and *Daniel* for *Nebuchadnezzar*, and St. *Paul* for *Nero*. 1 *Tim.* 2. We find the antient Fathers *praying* for the Emperors (though of a different Religion, and perſecutors of the true) Now to be at the ſame time praying for them and *conſpiring* in any combinations *againſt* their government, are inconſiſtent. 1.

(*i*) *Tertullian* who lived under *Severus* the Emperor, ſaith this in the name of the Chriſtians, *we pray daily for the health of the Emperors, &c.* That of *Marcus Aurelius* diſtreſs in his expedition into *Germany*, when by the *prayers* of the *Chriſtian Legion* (as it was acknowledged by the *heathen*) *Rain* was obtained in a great *Drought*, and conſequently a *victory* is ſufficiently known: They called not for *fire* from heaven to conſume him and his Army, according to that advice of *Sanders* the *Jeſuit*, in the like caſe (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. *de viſib. Monarch.*) but for water to refreſh both.

(i) *Lib. ad ſcapul. Nos pro ſalute Imperatorum Deum invocamus, &c.*

The Letters of the Fathers *Synodi Ariminenſis* written to *Conſtantius* an *Arrian* are obſervable, who asking him leave to return to their ſeverall Dioceſſes, give this for their reaſon, (*) *That we may diligently pray for thy health, Empire, and peace, which the mercifull God everlaſtingly beſtow upon thee.*

* *Sozom lib.* 4. *cap.* 17. *ut oremus ſedulo pro tua ſalute Imperio & ſtatu quam Deus tibi ſempiternam benignus largiatur.*

And in their *ſecond* Letters, asking the ſame requeſt of him: they ſay thus: * *Again moſt glorious Emperor,*

* *Theodor. lib.* 2. *cap.* 20. *Rurſum te, Glorioſiſſime Imperator obſecramus ut ante hyemis aſperitatem jubeas nos ad Eccleſias noſtras redire, ut omnipotenti Deo, pro ſtatu potentiæ tuæ una cum populo, quemadmodum ſerimus & facimus magno ſtudio ſupplicare poſſemus.*

we beſeech thee that before the ſharpneſs of the Winter, thou wouldſt command our return to our Churches, that we may, as we have done and doe earneſtly pray unto the Almighty God for the ſtate of thy might with thy people.

How are they then to be abhorred who to a *Chriſtian, pious, Orthodox King ſtained neither with Vice nor Hereſie, temperate, meek, prudent, gracious*, inſtead of prayers have returned menacies, for a dutifull ſubjection, Arrogant language, if he yield not to every particular of their peremptory demands.

2. You ſhall not find the *antient Fathers* either by *word* or *writing* giving the *leaſt offence* to the Emperors, though *Hereticks*. St. *Hillary* wrote two books againſt *Conſtantius* the Arrian, yet ſtiles him *Glorioſiſſimum, Beatiſſimum*; nay *Sanctum* i. e. *Ratione Imperii, Non Religionis &c.*

(k) *Orat.* 8 18. 22. 24. 25. 27. (k) *Nazianzen* is found of the like temper in his Orations againſt *Valens* and *Valentinian*, which are written throughout with all the *Reverence* and ſubjection that can be ezpected from a *Subject* to a Prince; and yet *Valens* burnt *fourſcore Orthodox Biſhops and Presbyters* together in a ſhip, and did other horrid Acts, which (l) *Socrates* tells us.

(l) *Socrat. lib. 4. cap.* 13. Oh the *diſtance* between the ſpirits of ſome men now dayes and thoſe of the *antient* Church, even as as far thoſe excelled theſe, in ſanctimony of life, integrity of Converſation, piety and truth of Doctrine.

3. You ſhall ever find them *exemplary* in their *obedience* and *ſubjection* to the Emperors, never ſtirring up the people to the leaſt reſiſtance or *mutiny*, but appeaſing them.

Excel-

Excellently is that of St. *Augustine* (*m*) of the Christians under *Julian*; *An Infidel Emperor, a wicked Apostate. The Faithfull souldiers served a faithless Emperor*; when it came to the *Cause* of *Christ*, then they acknowledged no other then him that sits in heaven; but in *Millitary* affairs, *when he said unto them, bring forth your forces into the field goe against such a Nation presently they obeyed, they distinguisht the Lord who is æternal from him that is only temporall, and yet were subject to the temporall Lord for his sake who is æternall.*

(*n*) *Tertullian* affirms it as a high honour to Christianity, that they could never find a Christian in any seditious conspiracy: *We are* (saith he) *defamed in relation to his Imperiall Majesty, but yet they could never find any of us among the Albiniani, Nigriani*, or *Cassiani* (who had been some seditious parties against the Emperor.

That (*o*) of St. *Ambrose* was both becomming a good *Bishop* and a Loyall *Subject*, when he was commanded (by the means of *Justina* the Empress, who was an *Arrian*) to deliver up the Churches of *Millain* to the use of the *Arrians*, returned this answer to his people, and to the Emperor; *Willingly I shall never do it, but if compel'd I have not learned to fight, I can weep, my Tears are my Arms, I neither can nor ought to resist otherwise.* Indeed by the desire of the *Orthodox* party he refused to give up the *chief* Church or his *Cathedral* to them, but the detaining of it was with all possible *humble* representation by way of *Petition* for it, with all the solicitous care that might be, of preventing the least misinterpretation of *contumacie*, and

(m) *In Psalm.* 124. Tulianus, *infidelis Imperator, Apostata iniquus, milites fideles servierunt Imperatori infideli quando dicebat, producite aciem ite contra illam gentem, statim obtemperabant, distinguebant, Dominum æternum a Domino temporali, & tamen subditi erant propter Dominum æternum, etiam Domino temporali.*

(n) *Ad Scapul. Circa Majestatē Imperatoris infamamur tamen nunquam inter Albianos, Nigrianos, vel Cassianos nos invenire potuerunt.*

(o) *In orat. de Basilic. non tradend. Volens nunquam deseram coactus repugnare non novi. Flere potero, lachrymæ meæ mea arma sunt, aliter nec debeo, nec possum resistere.*

and the *people* went into it *with him*, and there continued night and day, in *fasting and prayer*, that God would move the Emperor, not to disturb them (which as some observe (to prevent a weariness in it) occasioned the use of *Anthemes* in these *Western* parts, though long before in the *East*) he offered all his (p) *own proper goods* to the pleasure of the Emperor: *Were it my Land, I should not gain-say it, doth the Emperor require my Body, I shall meet him, would he have me to prison, put me to death, I am pleased with it, I shall not enclose my self with a guard of the multitude of the people, nor will I take hold of the Altar to ask my life, but I shall freely be sacrificed for the Altars,* (or the Service of God.)

Thus saith another Father many hundreds of years after him. (q) *We will fight for our Mother the Church, but with what arms, not with Swords and Shields, but with Prayers and Tears, to God.*

Athanasius was four or five times banished by several Emperors, but in each he quietly yielded, (r) *as conceiving it more consonant to the Religion professed by him, to overcome that injury by a patient suffering*, then to have made his defence by an *unwarranted seditious opposition* by the people, and therefore in his *Apology* ye shall not find a word tending that way, but on the contrary, upon any *Tumult* of them (whose *zeale* to him might possibly have carried them beyond their *Limits*) he ever exhorts them to be quiet, and to retire to their homes, telling them that for those of his *order*, no ways was allowed them in their defence, but *preces, fuga, & humiles supplicationes*. i. e. Prayers *to God, petitioning* the Emperor, or a *flight*, and for *Petitions* to the Emperor, ye have

(p) *Quod meum est.* i. e. *fundum meum, non refragarer, si corpus petit occurram, vultis in unicula rapere vultis in mortem voluptati est mihi non ego me vallabo circumfusione populorum, nec altaria tenebo vitam obsecrans sed pro altaribus gratis immolabor.* ibid.

(q) *Bern Ep. 221. ad Ludon Reg. pro matre nostra Ecclesia Propugnabimus sed quibus armis non scutis, non gladiis sed precibus flectibusq; ad deum.*

(r) *Religioni quam profitebatur, putavit magis consentaneum patientia quam injusta seditione conjuriam imperatoris superare.* Apol.

have the example of *Ebedmelech* for *Jeremiah* to the King of *Iſrael*; *Eſther* for her Nation to *Ahaſuerus*, *Jonathan* for *David* to *Saul*; In Eccleſiaſticall ſtory *Plinius Secundus* for the Chriſtians (in the Province of *Bythinia*) to *Trajan*. And as each of theſe in ſome meaſure prevailed, ſo can they be hardly rejected by any perſon who is not wholly a ſtranger both to piety and humanity.

For a *flight*, when petitions will not prevail, the ſame *Athanaſius* (in his Apologie for his from the Arrians) produceth a great Catalogue of Examples. *Jacob* from *Eſau*, *Moſes* from *Pharaoh*, *David* from *Saul*, *Elias* from *Jezabel*, St. *Paul* from the Conſpirators againſt him at *Damaſcus*, *Act.* 9. Nay, the Example of our *bleſſed Saviour* in his flight from *Herod* into *Egypt* in his Infancy, afterwards from the fury of the *Jews* and *Phariſies*, and the *other Herod*, till his time was come, according to which is his command to his Diſciples, *Mat.* 10. *When ye are perſecuted in one City flye to another*; but no warrant or example from him or his for a reſiſtance, or in the Primitive times ſucceeding for *many hundred* years, as (a) *Sigebert* tells us, that *Doctrine*, *or Hereſie rather*, *was a novelty in the world till the year* 1088. *after Chriſt*.

(a) *Hæc ſola novitas ne dicam hæreſis, nec dum in mundo emerſerat*: Sigeb. Chronol. Ann. 1088.

There is this one *Evaſion* pretended againſt theſe *Quotations* of the *Fathers*, which muſt be anſwered (*viz.*) *that this their patience then*, was to be attributed rather to their (b) *neceſsity then virtue*, their *number* and *ſtrength* being ſo *ſmal*, that they could not *help* it, and ſo were *compelled* to yield. This indeed is the very objection of the Jeſuites, *Bellarmine* againſt *Barclay* ſaith the ſame, *facultatibus non fuerint prediti ſatis idoneis*,

Object.

(b) *Neceſſitati magis quam virtuti & voluntati auctorum Patrum, &c.*

neis, *i. e.* they wanted ſufficient forces to reſiſt, and would have that of *Nazianzen*, *Lachrymas ſolas ſupereſſe Chriſtianis contra* Juliani *perſecutiones*, *&c.* (*i. e.* That Tears was all the Chriſtians had to defend themſelves againſt the perſecutions of *Julian*) thus to be underſtood, as (*b*) *if* Julian *had by his tyranny cut off all their forces, which elſe it had been lawfull for them to have made uſe of againſt the Apoſtate*, againſt whom in that, many of the Church of *Rome* have written, *Gregorius Tholoſanus*, (*c*) *Bareliaus* (whom we named before) (*d*) *Widringtonus*. This is the objection of *Bellarmine*.

(b) Julianus tyrannide ſua vires omnes præciderit quibus aliàs iis contra Apoſtatam uti fas fuiſſet.

(c) Lib. 6 de lega. c. 26. & de poteſt. Pape.

(d) In Apol. B. B. a n. 249. uſq; ad n. 267.

Anſwer. But the *Contrary* is evident, that the *number* and *ſtrength* of the *Chriſtians* was then very great, not only to have *reſiſted*, but *overthrown*, and even ſhaken the foundations of the Empire. They were as the *Iſraelites* in *Egypt*, *ſtronger then their enemies*. See what *Euſebius* ſaith, that when *Conſtantine* the firſt profeſſed to be a Chriſtian, who ſucceed *Diocleſian*, that had made ſuch havock of them) *the* (*e*) *whole world roſe with him, and forſaking their Idols, joyned themſelves unto him.*

(e) Fere omnes mortales tunc deorum cultu relicto, Chriſtianorum gentem. &c. Euſeb. l b. 9. c. 9.

(*f*) *Tertullian* who lived an hundred years before him, ſets ſo th thus the *number* of the Chriſtians in his time. *We fill the whole Empire, your Cities, Caſtles, Corporations, Councels, your very Camps, Courts of Juſtice, Palaces, Market-places, your Senate, with whom are not we able to make a warre, who ſo willingly offer our ſelves to the ſlaughter, but that our Religion teacheth us, that 'tis better to be killed then to kill in ſuch caſes.*

(f) Apol. Exteri ſumus, & veſtra omnia implevimus, urbes inſulas, caſtella, municipia, conciliabula, caſtra ipſa, decurias, palatia, ſenatum, forum, ſolo non ignes non promptiſſimi, qui tam ſilenter truncidamur, ſi non aſſidiſciplinam noſtram magis eſſet illicere quam decere.

In

It was ſo in St. *Ambroſe* his time, the Army and people were (at leaſt the major part of them) at his beck. I (ſaith he) upon all occaſions am ſtill deſired, *ut compecerem populum, ego Tyrannus appellor & plus quam Tyrannus.* The Emperor often tells his Courtiers, he muſt doe what *Ambroſe* will have him, the whole implying the great number of the Orthodox Chriſtians then, and yet alwayes ſubmitted to the Government.

Now no man can conceive that in this the Chriſtians *wanted courage.* That paſſage (g) which *Theodoret* tels us of ſufficiently ſatisfies, *viz.* that when many of the Souldiers had been deluded by *Julians impoſtures* to have *offered ſome incenſe* to the Idols, they *ran to and fro the Cities, offered not only their hands,* but their *bodies to the fire, that being polluted by fire, they might be purged by the fire.*

(g) Theod. lib. 3. cap. 17. *Cum multi militum qui exercitum adoleverunt, impoſturis Juliani decepti, peregrinam diſcurrentes, non tantum manus, ſed corpora adignem offerent ut igne polluti igne repurgarentur.*

Can any in reaſon think that they who were ſo *fearleſs of death* in the profeſſion of what they were taught by the *Fathers*, if they had been alſo by the *ſame* teachers aſſured what a *merit* it had been to have fought for them, and themſelves againſt the *Emperor* and his *Edicts* made for their deſtruction, can we think them ſo ſenſeleſs and heartleſs as not to have appeared accordingly? No, it was only for the fear of God, and this *Text* with-held them, as *Tertullian* hath it; *Reprimebant manus quia non ignorabant quod legitimum eſſet, qui reſiſtit poteſtati Dei, ordinationi reſiſtit. &c.*

There was then no ſuch *Jeſuiticall* doctrine known (contrary to the doctrine of the Church of *England*) that men may in the like caſes take *up Arms in Rebellion againſt their lawfull Princes.* And ſurely if not in caſe of *Hereſie, i. e.* if the Prince ſhall *exemplo vel præcepto*

(b) *lib. 5. de Pontifice c. 7.*

cepto compel, or endeavour to draw his Subjects to it (which is the assertion of (*b*) *Bellarmine, fideles heretico non obligari, licite posse veneno aut quacunque ratione è medio tollere, &c.*) surely much less may this be in cases of less consequence, which do not touch upon the *foundation*, but are only *circumstantials*. The ancient Christians held not these things worthy of blood, but submitted to them after St. *Pauls* example in the like.

And now 'tis high time to apply my self to the consideration of that *horrid Fact* which, as fruit sprung from those *deadly* seeds of Doctrine, we lament this day. This was the day when out of pretence of relieving the *Mother* (as they call the *Common-wealth*) children destroyed the *Father*, and so at once *both*. The Casuists say, *Si filius patrem in ultionem matris occidat, hæc pietas erit scelus*, but for a Son to slay both Parents at once is a *Monster* indeed.

This was the black work of this day, rather to be trembled at the thought of, then uttered, when the most *wise, pious, prudent, meek, mercifull King* was put to death by perfidious sons of *Belial*, faithless and merciless men: And this not in the dark, but *in the face of the Sun*, at his own gates, a thing unparalleld in any Story. That which hitherto hath been urged, is from what the ancient Church abhorred even to a *Heretick*, a *Persecutor*, a *Heathen*; how much then is this cruelty and hypocrisie to be loathed when exercised against the life and soveraignty of a *pious, orthodox, just*, and *Christian Prince*, not only to a dreadfull *Rebellion*, but a *bloody murther*.

All history shews that Rebellion hath ever in conclusion been the ruine of the Authors; take the word

word κρίμα in the Text, as some render it *pœnam, judicium, i. e.*) for some corporal vengeance from God or man *here*. That known speech of (*i*) *Rodolphus* to those that were about him when he was nigh unto death after his taking up arms against his *Master the Emperor*, is worthy to be remembred: *See ye my right hand maimed by a wound, with this I sware to my Lord* Henry (*the Emperor*) *that I would doe him no hurt, nor treacherously entrap him in his dignity, but the Apostolick Command* (*or that of the Pope*) *hath enduced me to it, that as a perjured person, I have usurped an honor not due unto me. Ye see in that very hand with which I violated my oath, I have received my mortall wound, let them look to it, who have invited us, to what a condition they have brought us, even to the very hazard of everlasting damnation*; according to the Text, *ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt*.

(*i*) Helmold. histor. Sclau. cap. 28, 29, 30. lib. 1. *Spectate manum meam dextram de vulnere cauciam, hæc ego juravi Domino* Henrico, *ut non nocerem ei, nec insidiarer gloriæ ejus, sed jussio Apostolica Pontificamus mandatum me ad id deduxit, ut juramenti transgressor honorem mihi indebitum usurparem: Videtis quod in manu unde jura menta violavi mortale hoc vulnus accepi. Viderint ii qui nos ad hoc instigaverunt, qualiter nos duxerint ne forte deducti simus in præcipitium æternæ damnationis*

I shall conclude with that *sentence* of St. *Jude* and St. *Peter* (*cap.* 2.) upon the like (then which ye have not a more full execration in the whole Bible) *These are they that despise dominion, and are so presumptuous, as to speak evil of dignities* (*i, e.* Kings and Princes,) *Wo unto them for they have gone in the way of* Cain, *and ran greedily after the error of* Baalam, *and perished in the gain-saying of* Core, these are *spots in your feasts, clouds without water, trees without fruit, withered, plucked up by the roots, raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame, wandring stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever*: Let us all say

Amen.

Amen to that which fell from a *Royal pen, King James* of ever happy memory, in his *maledictus qui maledicit uncto Domini, pereatque interitu* Core, *qui peccavit in contradictione* Core: Let him be accurſed that ſhall curſe the Lords annointed, and let him periſh with the periſhing of *Corah* who hath ſined in the gain-ſaying of *Korah*: And let us earneſtly pray for the ſafety of the *Kings Majeſty* according to that of the Chriſtians for the Emperour in *Tertullian. Det Deus illi vitam, exercitus fortes. Senatum fidelem, populum probum, orbem quietum, i. e.* God give him a long life, a ſecure Empire, a ſafe houſe, valiant forces, a faithfull Councell, loyall people, and a quiet State, &c. even for his ſake *who is King of Kings and Lord of Lords, to whom with the Father and holy Spirit be all honor and glory now and for ever* Amen.

Præfat. Apol.

Apol.

The

The late Lord *Primate* USHER's Judgment and Practice in point of *Loyalty*, *Episcopacy*, *Liturgy*, and *Ecclesiasticall Constitutions* of the Church of *England*.

THe various *interpretations* which have been made of the Judgement and Practice of this most Eminent Prelate in these particulars and the *misapplications* thereupon pread, by some of *different* Judgments to his great prejudice, hath occasioned this brief *vindication* of him, by declaring my own knowledge therein; as followeth.

1. *His Judgement and Practise in point of Loyalty.*

For his *Judgement*, it hath been most fully manifested by a most learned Treatise, lately published of the Power of the Prince and Obedience of the Subject: the writing of which was thus occasioned. About the beginning of those unhappy Commotions in *Scotland*, 1639. Sir *George Radcleife* desired me very earnestly to let him know, what the Lord *Primats* Judgment was of them, and not being contented with my *verball* assurance of it, desired to have it more punctually under my *hand*, which I had no sooner communicated to the Lord *Primate*, but he readily and instantly *dictated* unto me his *sentence* upon them, which was accordingly returned,

Occasion of writing that Book of the Power of the Princes, &c.

returned, & for which I had a letter of very great thanks.

Now as ſoon as the *Primate* came to *Dublin* the *Earl of Strafford*, (then Lord Deputy of *Ireland*) deſired him to declare his Judgment *publiquely* concerning thoſe Commotions, which he forthwith did at *Chriſt-Church Dublin*, before the State in two Sermons, to all mens ſatisfactions, from this Text *Eccles.* 7. 2. *I counſel thee to keep the Kings commandement, and that becauſe of the Oath of God.* After this, the *Lord Deputy* (beſides his own deſire) ſignified unto him that it would be acceptable to his late *Majeſty* (of ever bleſſed memory) that he ſhould either *print* his *Sermons*, or write a *Treatiſe* of the like Subject, the latter of which he made choice of: And having with much labour and induſtry finiſht it, and cauſed it to be fairly tranſcribed, he came over with it into *England* with an intention to commit it to the Preſſe, as hath been declared by the learned and *Reverend Father* in God, the Lord *Biſhop of Lincoln* in his *Preface* to that Treatiſe.

To which give me leave to add: That his Judgement was alwayes the ſame and ſo declared by him upon all occaſions, ſince I had the happyneſſe to be known to him: As *annually* upon the *Kings* Inauguration day (which was conſtantly obſerved by him at *Drogheda* with great Solemnity:) *and occaſionly* in ſome learned Sermons preacht by him at the opening of two *Parliaments*. And eſpecially upon the firſt ſolemnity for his preſent Majeſties *Birth-day*, *anno* 1630. at *Dublin*, being ſent for of purpoſe by the State then to preach, which he did upon this Text, *Pſalm* 45. 26. *Inſtead of thy Fathers ſhall be thy children, whom thou mayeſt make Princes in all the Earth.*

But

But moſt *fully* in thoſe *two Speeches* of his herewith revived. *The one* whereof he made while he was *Biſhop of Meath, Anno* 1622. in the *Caſtle-Chamber* of *Dublin*, in defence of the *Oath of Supremacy*, and in ſpecial making good that Clauſe that the King is the *only Supream Governor of theſe his Realms and Dominions*. For which King *James* (of happy Memory) ſent him a Letter of Thanks hereunto annexed, the original of which I have now in my cuſtody. His Speech of the Oath of Supremacy.

The other he made *Anno* 27. before the Lord Deputy *Falkland*, the Councel, and a great Aſſembly of the *Lords*, and other perſons choſen out of each County at His Majeſties Caſtle of *Dublin*, occaſioned by their ſlowneſs to contribute to the maintenance of the Army, the main ſcope of which, is to declare the *Duty of Subjects to ſupply the Kings neceſsities for the defence of his Kingdom*, from ſtrength of Reaſon, antient Records, and Grounds of Divinity, a Copy of which being by the Lord Deputy then deſired of him to be ſent unto His late Majeſty, (for which he received His Royal Thanks) I took a tranſcript thereof; His Speech of ſupplying the Kings Neceſſities.

Unto which I ſhall only add this, That I have found among the Primat's papers a *Manuſcript*, containing Mr. *Hookers* judgment of theſe three things,

1. *Of Regal Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.*
2. *Of the Kings Power in the advancement of Biſhops unto the rooms of Prelacy.*
3. *Of the Kings exemption from cenſures and other judicial Power.*

Mr. *Hookers* judgment of Regal Power confirmed by the Primate.

All which (as the *Primate* notes with his *own hand*) *are not found in the common Copys of Mr.* Hookers *M.S.* (though by what art, and upon what deſigne ſo much

was exſpunged I know not) only thus far the *Primate* hath joyn'd his Teſtimony with Mr. *Hooker* in theſe (which ſeem to be the true) that he hath *corrected* and *perfected* the copy throughout with his *own hand*, and not only found out the ſeveral *quotations*, and put them down in the *Margent*, which had been before omitted, but added many of his *own*, with ſome other large Annotations, by which his *zeal* for the defence of *Regal Power* is the more evident. And what his freedom of ſpeech was frequently here in his *Sermons* to that purpoſe, and in ſpeciall before his late Majeſty (of bleſſed memory) upon his *Birth-day* at the *Iſle of Wight* upon this Text, *Geneſ.* 49. 3. *Reuben, thou art my firſt-born, my might, and the beginning of my ſtrength, the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power*, I ſuppoſe is ſufficiently known. This for his *Judgement*.

His ſufferings for it.

Secondly, his Practice hath appeared by what his *ſufferings* have been upon that account; as his forced *flight* from *London* to *Oxford*: His ruff uſage in *Wales* or thereabouts, by the Army then in the field againſt the King, to the loſs of ſome of his Books and Principall *Manuſcripts* never recovered: The taking that away from him which had been given him by the King for his maintenance, and at length being neceſſitated to return to *London*, he was *ſilenced* a long time from preaching, unleſs in a private houſe; and when with much adoe he was permitted to preach at *Lincolns Inne*, it was that Honorable Society which gave him a competent maintenance; but upon the failing of his eye-ſight, being compelled to give it up, his ſmall ſubſiſtance after that (beſides the continuance of the *Counteſs of Peterburroughs* reſpects to him in her houſe) came (with much

diffi-

difficulty) through my hands unto him.

His Prayers, joy, and ſorrow according to the ſucceſs of his Majeſties affairs.

And as his *Prayers* (which were all the Arms he had) were daily lifted up (like *Moſes* hands) for the proſperity of his Majeſties affairs, notwithſtanding the hazzard he ran by it, like that of *Daniels*, by a prohibition to the contrary: So was his joy or ſorrow perpetually ſhown according to the ſucceſs of them, I ſhall inſtance in one particular.

Anno 1649. (till when, the *Book of Common Prayer* was in my Charge of *Drogheda*, to his great content, continued, notwithſtanding *many Lords* of the Parliament forces interchangeably *had dominion over us*) the now Lord *Duke of Ormond* then appearing with an Army for the King, and taking the Town, with that part of his forces under the command of the Earl of *Inchiquin*, the ſame day I attended his Lordſhip in the *proclaiming* of his Majeſty, and immediately went to the Church, and uſed the *Common Prayer* for his Majeſty: And afterwards upon the *Dukes* comming himſelf thither, we had a *Faſt* for the good ſucceſs of his Majeſties forces (at which I *preached:*) And a *Communion* was appointed the next Sunday, though *Oliver Cromwels* landing with ſo great a force at *Dublin* interrupted us (the event of which in that *bloody ſtorme*, and the hazzard of my ſelf for the above-mentioned matters, would be impertinent here to relate) only thus much: I may not omit as to this good Lord *Primate*, That as his *Letters* were full of encouragement, and approbation of me for it; ſo at my coming over he embraced me with much affection, upon that *Accompt*, often rejoycing at the conſtancie of that *Town*, where himſelf had reſided, and had ſown ſo much of that *Doctrine* of

Loyalty, which by his Order *four* times a yeat (according to the Canon) was preached unto them. And with many *Tears* he lamented the retarding of his Majesties affairs, by the loss of so many faithfull Servants of his, slain there in that *Massacre* in cool bloud.

In one thing more, the Demonstration of his loyall affection to his Majesty was manifested by his passionate *Commiseration* of those of the distressed sequestred Clergy, who had suffered for him, and by his appearing to his utmost for them (which was more commendable, then by hiding himself, to have take no more care, but to preserve one.

His compassionate affection to such as had suffered for his Majesty.

When that *mercilesse* Proclamation issued forth against such that they might not so much as *teach a School* for their livelyhood; when my soliciting for them (by his encouragement) *representing* their petitions, and petitioning for them in my own *name* subscribed, only to have had them capable of a *Contribution*, throughout *England* (for which as Feoffees in Trust, *Doctor Bromrigg* then the learned Bishop of *Exeter* and my self, were nominated) could not prevail, and an elegant *Apologie* for them written by *Doctor Gauden* the now Reverend Bishop of *Exeter*, which I delivered with my own hand, proved also ineffectuall. Then this eminent *Primat* out of a compassionate sense of their miseries was perswaded by me to make a Tryall how farr his own *personal* presence might prevail in their behalf, and so (much against his own *Genius* and with great regret within himself to go into *Whitehall*, he having no other occasion in the world besides) he went, and I waited on him thither for that end, where he spake as *freely* and *fully*, as some impertinent interposi-

positions of discourses would permit him; but to his great *grief* returned fruitless, and I think he never resented any thing more deeply, not living many moneths after unto which the ungrateful censures and rash extravagant language of such, whom he thus endeavored to serve, added the more to it; which in some hath not been abated to his very *Memory*: Now in regard their ignorance of thus much, might still occasion it, is one cause of my enlargement upon it; but so much in relation to his *Loyalty*, whereof he was an eminent Patterne.

His Judgment and Practice in point of Episcopacy.

FOr *Episcopacy*, first in his *Judgment*, he was a full asserter of it, which appears in those Learned Tractates of the *Original of Bishops*, and that of the *Lydian Asia*, where he doth not only deduce *Episcopacy* from the Apostolique times, but also the *Metropolitans* or Arch-Bishops to have been accordingly, from the superscription of St. *John* to the *Seven Churches*, each of which Citys being *Metropolitical*, *and the rest of the Citys of* Asia, *as daughters* under them) for the confirmation of which, he hath given such strong probabilities, that 'twill be hard to gainsay them. His judgment.

Secondly, for his *Practice*, I can witness his constant exercise of the *Jurisdiction* of it, or his causing it so to be exercised throughout his *Dioceſs* and *Province*, while those quiet times in *Ireland* did permit it. In all which a Learned and Prudent Divine was his Chancellor or Vicar-General, and afterwards a *Bishop* (*Bishop* Synd) one His Practice.

one known to have been as much for the Government and Conſtitutions of the Church of *England*, as any perſon whatſoever.

The reduction of Epiſcopacy. &c.

As for that of his *Reduction of Epiſcopacy to the form of Synodical Government &c.* preſented to his late Maje- of Bleſſed Memory, *Anno* 1641. It is to be conſidered, how it was occaſioned by the preſent Tempeſtuous *Violence* of the Times, as an *accommodation* by way of Prevention of a totall Shipwrack threatned by the Adverſaries of it, as appears ſufficiently by the Title before it, *viz. Propoſed in the year* 1641. *as an expedient for the prevention of thoſe troubles which afterwards did ariſe in matter of Church Government, &c.* Now what can this, in the ſenſe of any *prudent unbiaſſed* pe ſon prejudice him in his Judgment or Affection to *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf, which rather confirms it.

The occaſion and end of it.

The *Marchant* parts with that in a *Storme*, that he would not have done in a *Calme*, and at ſhore recruits himſelf with the like goods again. St. *Paul* in that *Wracke*, *Acts* 27. conſented not only to the *lightning of the Ship of the lading, but of the Tackling alſo, We caſt them out* (ſaith he, or St. *Luke*) *with our own hands*, and all for the ſaving (if it were poſſible) of the Ship, and the Paſſengers in it. That of the ſame *Apoſtle* in another caſe, *I think it fit for the preſent neceſsity*, might in ſome meaſure in this particular be the *Primates* Application, wherein he was not *ſingular* neither.

Unto which I can add this further confirmation, that for thoſe *many years* I had the happines to be known unto him in thoſe ſerene times, before theſe troubles aroſe, to the diſturbance of *Epiſcopacy*, I never heard him mentioning any thing by way of alteration that way

way in thoſe *Propoſals* there ſpecified, ſo that the ſole occaſion and end of them muſt be as aforeſaid.

And for theſe 4. Propoſitions, they were only *preſent prudentiall* repreſentations, left to the Judgment and correction of *others*, without any Magiſterial Impoſition of them, as a *Copy* to be writ after, and as they were not publiſhed till an *imperfect* Copy invited unto it, ſo the real intent of it was by that Conjunction of both parties in *Eccleſiaſticall* Govesnment to have the eaſier way prepared to their *union* in the *civil*, even an *unanimous* endeavour for his *Majeſties* happy Reſtauration (now through Gods great goodneſs wonderfully accompliſhed) for which, as none prayed more zealouſly, ſo none could have exceeded the *Primates* in the joy for it, had he lived to ſee it.

Ordination of the Church of *England*.

For the *form of words* uſed by the *Biſhop* in the ordination of the Church of *England*, he did much approve thereof, *viz.* *Receive the Holy Ghoſt, Whoſe ſins thou remitteſt are remitted, and whoſe ſins thou retaineſt are retained, and be thou a faithfull diſpenſer of the Word and Sacraments, &c.* And the delivering of the Bible into the hands of the perſon ordained, ſaying, *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and adminiſter the Sacraments, &c.* Which being *wholly* omitted in that of the *Presbyterian* way, and no other words to that *ſenſe* uſed in their room, and thereupon no *expreſs* tranſmiſſion of miniſteriall Power, he was wont to ſay, that ſuch an *Impoſition* of hands (by ſome called the *Seal* of Ordination) without a Commiſion annexed, ſeemed to him to be *as the putting of a ſeal to a blank*, That the ſcruple was not only in the *inſtrumentall* cauſe, but in the

the *formall*: and that if a *Biſhop* had been preſent, and done no more, the ſame *query* might have been of the validity of it: And in his letter to me (which hath been publiſhed) he hath declared, *the Ordination made by ſuch Presbyters as have ſevered themſelves from their Biſhops, unto whom they had ſworn Canonicall obedience cannot be excuſed from being Schiſmaticall.*

Epiſcopal ſuperiority over Presbyters.

For that of a *gradual ſuperiority* of a *Biſhop* above a *Presbyter* which ſome have been offended at: 1. It is the language of *Archbiſhop Whitgift* in the *defence of the Anſwer to the Admonition, Tract.* 8. *p.* 383. *that Epiſcopus is commonly uſed for that Prieſt that is in degree over and above the reſt, &c.* But ſecondly, howſoever if ſo that the *gradus* be granted to be of Apoſtolicall conſtitution (which is the Primats ſenſe) I do not ſee how it any more takes off from the *Preheminence* and Authority of Epiſcopacy, then the denomination of *Lights*, given in common by *Moſes* to all in the *Firmament*, detracts from the *Sun* whom he call only the *greater*, from whom the reſt *derive* theirs, and is the *Ruler of the day*: Or that of the *firſt-born* among his brethren, who by his *Primogeniture*, had the *ſupremacy of Dignity and Power* to whom the reſt muſt *bow*, and he was to *rule over them*: The diſtinction in both is but *gradual*. The *Primate* hath alſo elſewere derived the *form* of Church Government under the *New Teſtament* from the Pattern preſcribed by God in the *Old*, and ſhews how it was from the *Imitation* thereof brought in by the *Apoſtles*. Now though the *Diſtinction* of the *Chief*, or *High-Prieſt*, and the other *inferiour* Priests was but *gradual*, yet there being ſo great a diſtance between them, the *Chief-Prieſt* having

As the Sun to the other Lights.

The dignity and power of the firſt-born.

As the diſtance beween the High-Prieſt, and the other inferiour Prieſts.

ving *rule* over the reſt (called by the 70. Ἐπίσκοποι,) there ſhall not need any further inſtance to illuſtrate it.

And whereas there hath been a learned tractate ſome years agone publiſhed, entitled *the form of Church government before and after Chriſt, as it is expreſſed in the Old and New Teſtament*, which then went under the name of *Biſhop Andrews*. I found a *Manuſcript* of it among the *Primates* Papers, wherein the *Author* upon a review hath ordered ſome things to be *altered, added*, or *taken away*, and *ſome to be further inquired into*, according as the *marks make reference unto ſeveral Pages* of it. This I found accordingly noted by the *Primate* throughout, and ſome paſſages which the learned *Author* deſired to be farther inquired into, are at large perfected under the Primats own hand, and I know no book more full for the *preheminency* of Epiſcopacy; ſo that what he did, or was willing to have yielded unto out of a calme temper of *Moderation*, in ſuch times of extremity, to preſerve the unity and peace of the Church, then in great hazard to be ſhattered, ought not in reaſon ſo to be ſtretched, as to inferre it was his *Abſolute* deſire, or *free choice*, but only upon the *preſent diſtreſs* to keep the Chariot upon its wheels from a Precipice of a *total overturning*. So much for *Epiſcopacy*.

His approbation of books tending to the preheminence of Epiſcopacy.

3. *His Judgement and Practice of the* Liturgy *of the Church of* England.

FOr the *Liturgy of the Church of England* he was a conſtant Aſſertor and obſerver of to the laſt.

The Liturgy.

At *Drogheda* in *Ireland* (where I had the happineſs for many years to live under him) he had the *Common-Prayer* read *twice* every day in his *Chappel*, from which nothing but ſickneſs excuſed his abſence. And in the *Church* it was (by his approbation) as duly obſerved by my ſelf; we had there an *Organ* and a *Quire*; on *Sundayes* the Service was *ſung* before him, as is uſed in *Cathedrals* in *England*. *Anthems* were ſung very frequenly, and often, inſtead of a Pſalm, before Sermon.

The Service Song.

The Ceremonies.

He came conſtantly to the Church in his *Epiſcopal habit*, and preacht in it, and for my ſelf (by his approbation) when I officiated I wore my *Surplice and Hood*; adminiſtred the Communion, and at ſuch occaſions preached in them alſo. The *Surplice* was accordingly obſerved conſtantly by the *Reader*, and ſome of the Quire every Sunday.

And for all other *Adminiſtrations* they were fully obſerved in each *Rite* and *Ceremony* according to the *Rubrick* or Rule of the Book of Common-prayer, which many years after his leaving of *Ireland*, was (according to his truſt committed to me) continued, till my Church in that bloody *ſtorm of Drogheda* 1649. was blown up with *Gun-powder*, and for my refuſing to obey the command of his *Nephew Colonel Michael Jones*, ſent by an Officer unto me in writing, to forbear the uſe of the Common-prayer; I had much thanks from the *Primate*, being much diſpleaſed at his preſumption in it, though thereupon the little means I had remaining there, was by the Colonels *order taken from me*; and in the *ſtorme* of the Town he did not forget it, in his deſigning my *death*, as I was aſſured by an Eye-witneſs.

And

And indeed while the *Primate* continued in *Drogheda*, I doe not remember there were any *Proteſtant* Inhabitants there that ſo much as ſcrupled at the *Croſſe* in Baptiſm, or *kneeling* at the Communion, with the like, but in all things *conformed* and *ſubmitted* to what they ſaw was approved by him; and for ſuch as were refractory in the *Northern* parts of *Ireland* (where the *Scotch* had mingled themſelves with the *Engliſh*) he did his utmoſt to reclaim them in his *Provincial* Viſitation, which I was a witneſs of, and imployed by his directions among them for that end: Wherein (craving leave for this ſhort *digreſſion*) I have obſerved, that ſuch who had ſo geat a prejudice to the *Liturgy*, as to run out of the Church when it was offered to be read out of the *Book*, when I uſed the very *ſame form* in ſeveral Adminiſtrations *by heart*, without the book, *Baptiſm*, *Communion*, *Matrimony*, *Burial*, and the like, they have highly commended it, as conceiving they had been my own preſent conceptions (the younger ſort having never heard it, and the other almoſt forgotten it) which *guile*, both at *Drogheda* (when ſeveral *Parliament* Regiments were ſent thither ſucceſſively to ſuppreſs it, like the Meſſengers of *Saul* to deſtroy *David* at *Ramah*, they have accordingly *Propheſied* with us) and in other places ſince my coming over I have continued, who at *firſt* being præingaged without the Book in the commendation of it, the *next* time upon the uſe of it, finding it to be the ſame, they have confeſſed their former *deluſion*, and have been fully ſatisfied. His reducing the ſcrupulous

And what the *Primates* Practice had been in *Ireland*, he continued in *England* to his laſt, which in the *Counteſs of Peterboroughs* houſe (where he lived and died) I

have been often a witneſs of. And upon a *falſe rumour* raiſed of his *remiſſeneſs* that way, he ſhewed me, not long before his death, what he then had written to an Eminent perſon (who had told him of it) ſignifying his *high approbation and commendation of the ſaid Book of Common-prayer.* And when (after his being deſtroyed in *Ireland*) the late King of bleſſed memory had for his ſubſiſtence given him the *Biſhoprick* of *Carlile* in *Commerdam.* He did at a Viſitation of the Dioceſs) unto which the remoteneſs of the place did not permit himſelf to travel) writ a Letter unto the Miniſters thereof, charging them to *uſe conſtantly the Book of Common-prayer, and the publick Catechiſm* in their ſeveral Churches.

The falſhood of ſome Pamphlets put out in his name ſince his death.

Some *Pamphlets*, which of late years have been publiſhed in his name, containing (as they pretended) his opinion for the *omiſſion* and *change* of divers things in it, as I did at their *firſt* comming forth proteſt againſt them, to be *fictitious* papers, ſo I doe here confirm it; and whatſoever he might now have yeilded unto for the *peace* and unity of the Church, that we might *all ſpeak the ſame thing*; I can aſſure it (if he were alive) in theſe late diſputes of it, he would have been for the *Defendant.*

Some particulars obſerved by him,

And for ſome other *particulars* obſerved by me of him at *Drogheda* may not be impertinent herewith to relate. At the *Creed* he *ſtood* up conſtantly, repeated it with the Miniſter, alwayes received the *Communion* kneeling; At the publick prayers he kneeled alſo: At his entrance into the *Pulpit* he addreſſed himſelf with ſome ſhort prayer unto God for his aſſiſtance, not ſteping in irreverently with a *rude* confident *boldnes* as the maner of

of ſome is) but rather with ſome *fear and trembling*.

At his entrance into his Seat both in the Church and in his Chappel, he *kneeled* down, with ſome ſhort Prayer alſo, and as he always came reverently into the *Church* and went out of it *uncovered*, ſo did he continue all the time of *Divine Service*.

And though he had as great an ability as the chief Pretenders to an *extemporary* expreſſion, yet he conſtantly uſed a *ſet form* of Prayer before his Sermon, and that with a decent *brevity*, which in private Families (as moſt profitable) he commended accordingly, and even at their Tables, which was his own practice alſo, when he did not omit to pray (according to the uſuall Form) for the *Kings Majeſty and Royal iſſue*, (now commonly omitted.) In a word, this was his often aſſertion that as the affecting and impoſing of a daily *ſudden conception* at Prayer, was a *Novelty* and a *ſingularity* (not being practiſed in any other *Reformed Church*) ſo the immethodical *impertinencies*, and other indiſcreet extravagancies both for *meaſure* and *matter*, frequently occaſioned by it, were of greater *ſcandal* to the Church, then that aptitude, habitually attained unto by ſome, could be of *profit*.

His Judgment of the Articles of Religion *and practice of the* Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitutions *of the Church of* England.

The Articles of Religion of *England*.

THe *Articles* of the Church of *England*, as the *Primat* had long agon *ſubſcribed* them, ſo have I often heard him highly commending them. The *reception* of which

which Articles in the *Firſt Canon* of *Ireland*, *Anno* 1634. He drew up himſelf with his own hand, with an addition of a very ſevere puniſhment to ſuch as ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe them, as may appear in it.

The Canons of *Ireland*, 1614. taken out of Q. *Eliz.* Injunct. and Can of *Engl.*

Anno 1614. He was a principal perſon then appointed for the *collecting* and drawing up ſuch *Canons* as might beſt concern the Diſcipline and Government of the Church of *Ireland*, taken out of *Queen Elizabeths Injunctions* and the *Canons of England*, to be treated upon by the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops and Clergy of that Kingdom, ſome of which I have, which were written then with his own hand, and preſented by him;

The two firſt of them were theſe,

The Common Prayer.

1. *That no other Form of Liturgy or Divine Service ſhall be uſed in any Church of this Realm, but that which is eſtabliſhed by Law, and comprized in the Book of Common-Prayer, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, &c.*

Book of Ordination.

2. *That no other Form of Ordination, ſhall be uſed in this Nation, but which is contain'd in the Book of ordering of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, allowed by Authority, and hitherto practiced in the Churches of* England *and* Ireland, &c.

His Subſcription.

And in his *ſubſcription* (in relation to the above mentioned) it is in theſe words, *viz. I do acknowledge the Form of Gods Service preſcribed in the book of Common-Prayer, is good and godly, and may lawfully be uſed, and do promiſe that I my ſelf will uſe the Form in the ſaid Book preſcribed in celebration of* Divine Service, *and adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and none other. I do alſo acknowledge, that ſuch as are conſecrated and ordered according to the form preſcribed in the Book of Ordination, ſet forth by Authority, have truly received holy Orders, and*

have

have Power given them to exerciſe all things belonging to that Sacred Function, whereunto they are called &c.

For the now *more perfect Canons* of the Church of *Ireland*, conſtituted *Anno* 1634. in the Convocation there (whereof I was a Member) moſt of them were taken out of theſe of *England*, and he being then *Primate*, had a principal hand in their collection and propoſal to the reception of them, the *methodizing* of all which into due order, I have ſeen, and have it by me written with his own hand throughout: whereby 'tis apparent what his Judgment was in relation to them. Canons of *Ireland*. *Anno* 1634. taken out of thoſe of *England*.

The *Annual Feſtivals* of the Church he duly obſerved, preaching upon their ſeveral *Commemorations*: On *Chriſtmas-Day*, *Eaſter*, *Whitſunday*, he never fail'd of Communions, that excellent Treatiſe of his Entituled, *The incarnation of the Son of God*, was the ſubſtance of two or three Sermons which I heard him preach in a *Chriſtmas* time. The Feſtivals.

Good-Fryday, he conſtantly kept very ſtrictly, preaching himſelf then upon the *Paſſion* beyond his ordinary time, when we had the publick prayers in their utmoſt extent alſo, and without any thought of a ſuperſtition, he kept himſelf *faſting* till the Evening. Good Friday.

Confirmation of Children was often obſerved by him, the firſt time he did it (when a great number were preſented to him by me) he made a *Speech* to the Auditory, to the ſatisfaction of all ſorts of perſons, concerning the *Antiquity* and *good uſe* of it. Confirmation of Children.

The publick Cathechiſm in the book of Common-Prayer, was enjoyned by him to be only obſerved in the *Church*, a part of which for a *quarter* or *half* an hour was conſtantly explained by me to the people every Sun- Catechiſm.

Sunday before evening-Prayer, himself being present, which was also accordingly enjoyned throughout his Dioceſs.

Apparrel of the Clergy.

He was much for that *decent diſtinctive habit of the Clergy (Caſſocks, Gowns, Prieſts-Clokes, &c.)* according to the *Canon* in that behalf provided, to be uſed by them in their *walking* or *riding* abroad, which himſelf from his younger years always obſerved. And in *Anno* 1634. that *Canon* of *England* of the decent *Apparrel of Miniſters* was by his ſpecial approbation, put in among thoſe of *Ireland*.

Conſecration of Churches.

Laſtly though in our Conſtitutions, there is no form appointed for the conſecration of a Church or Chappel, yet he was ſo ready to apply himſelf to what had been accuſtomed in *England*, that at his conſecration of a Chappel not far from *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, he framed no new one of his own, but took that which goes under Biſhop *Andrews* name, and uſed it, (with little variation) which I have in my cuſtody.

And thus I have endeavored by this Declaration of his *Judgment* and *Practice* in theſe particulars, to give ſatisfaction to all ſuch, who by their miſapprehenſions have had their various cenſures and applications to the great injury of him. I ſhall only wiſh that *not only they but all others that hear* this of him, were *both almoſt and altogether ſuch as he was*.

Mr.

Mr. HOOKERS *Judgment of* Regal Power *in matters of* Religion, *and the advancement of* Biſhops (*wholy left out of the common Copies in his eighth Book*) *here* confirmed *by the late* Lord Primate USHER'S *marginal notes, and other* Enlargements *with his own hand.*

THe ſervice which we do unto the true God, who made heaven and earth, is far different from that which *Heathens* have done unto their ſuppoſed Gods, though nothing elſe were reſpected, but only the odds between their hope and ours. The office of piety or true Religion ſincerely performed have the *promiſes both of this life and of the life to come*, the practices of Superſtition have neither. If notwithſtanding the Heathens reckoning upon no other reward for all which they did, but ouly protection and favour in the temporal eſtate and condition of this preſent life, and perceiving how great good did hereby publickly grow as long as fear to diſpleaſe (they knew not what) Divine power was ſome kind of bridle unto them; did there-

[* This is wanting in the common books of Mr. *Hookers* M. S.]

fore provide that the higheſt degree of care for their Religion ſhould be the principall charge of ſuch, as having otherwiſe alſo the greateſt and chiefeſt power, were by ſo much the more fit to have cuſtody thereof: Shall the like kind of proviſion be in us thought blameworthy?

A groſs error it is to think that *Regal Power* ought to ſerve for the good of the *body*, and not of the *ſoul*; for mens temporal peace, and not their eternal ſafety; as if God had ordained *Kings* for no other end and purpoſe, but only to fat up men like hogs, and to ſee that they have their *Maſt*: Indeed to lead men unto ſalvation by the hand of ſecret, inviſible, and ghoſtly regiment, or by the external adminiſtration of things belonging unto Prieſtly order (ſuch as the Word and Sacraments are) this is denied unto *Chriſtian Kings*: no cauſe in the world to think them uncapable of ſupreme authority in the outward government, which diſpoſeth the affairs of Religion, ſo farre forth as the ſame are diſpoſable by humane authority, and to think them uncapable thereof only for that, the ſaid religion is everlaſtingly beneficiall to them that faithfully continue in it. And even as little cauſe there is, that being admitted thereunto amongſt the *Jews*, they ſhould a-
2 Cor. 3. 7, 8. mongſt the *Chriſtians* of neceſſity be delivered from ever exerciſing any ſuch power, for the dignity and perfection which is in our Religion more then theirs,

Ad. 2. It may be a queſtion, Whether the affairs of *Chriſtianity* require more wit, more ſtudy, more knowledge of Divine things in him which ſhall order them, then the *Jewiſh* Religion did: For although we deny not the forme of external government, together with all other Rites

Rites and *Ceremonies* to have been in more particular manner ſet down; yet withall it muſt be conſidered alſo, that even this very thing did in ſome reſpects make the burthen of their ſpiritual regiment the harder to be born, by reaſon of infinite doubts and difficulties, which the very obſcurity and darkneſs of their Law did breed, and which being not firſt decided, the Law could not poſſibly have due execution.

Beſides in as much as their Law did alſo diſpoſe even of all kind of civill affairs, their *Clergy* being the Interpretors of the whole Law, ſuſtained not only the ſame labour which *Divines* doe amongſt us, but even the burthen of our *Lawyers* too: Nevertheleſs be it granted that more things do now require to be publickly deliberated and reſolved upon with exacter judgment in matters divine, then Kings for the moſt part have; their perſonal inhability to judge in ſuch ſort as profeſſors do, letteth not but that their Regal authority may have the ſelf ſame degree or ſway which *the Kings of Iſrael* had in the affairs of their Religion, to rule and command according to the manner of ſupreme Governors.

As for the ſword wherewith *God* armed his *Church* of old, if that were a reaſonable cauſe why *Kings* might then have *Dominion*, I ſee not but that it miniſtreth ſtill as forcible an argument for the lawfulneſs and expedience of their continuance therein now. As we degrade and excommunicate, even ſo did the Church of the Jews, both ſeparate offendors from the Temple, and depoſe the *Clergie* alſo from their rooms when cauſe required. The other ſword of corporall puniſhment is not by *Chriſts* own appointment in the hand of *Ad.* 3.

the *Church of Christ*, as *God* did place it himſelf in the hands of the *Jewiſh Church*: For why? he knew that they whom he ſent abroad to gather a people unto him only by perſwaſive means were to build up his Church even within the boſome of *Kingdomes*, the chiefeſt Governors whereof would be open enemies unto it, every where for the ſpace of many years: Wherefore ſuch Commiſſion for diſcipline he gave them as they might any where exerciſe in a quiet and peaceable manner, the Subjects of no Common-wealth being touched in goods or perſon by virtue of that ſpirituall regiment whereunto *Chriſtian* Religion embraced did make them ſubject.

Now when afterwards it came to paſs that whole Kingdomes were made *Chriſtian*, I demand whither that authority ſerved before for the furtherance of Religion, may not as effectually ſerve to the maintenance of *Chriſtian* Religion? *Chriſtian* Religion hath the ſword of ſpiritual Diſcipline. But doth that ſuffice? The *Jewiſh* which had it alſo, did nevertheleſs ſtand in need to be ayded with the power of the Civil ſword. The help whereof, although when *Chriſtian* Religion cannot have it, muſt without it ſuſtain it ſelf as far as the other which it hath will ſerve, notwithſtanding where both may be had: what forbiddeth the *Church* to enjoy the benefit of both? Will any man deny that the *Church* doth need the rod of corporall puniſhment to keep her children in obedience withall? Such a Law as *Macabeus* made amongſt the *Scots*, that he which continued an excommunicate two years together, and reconciled not himſelf to the *Church*, ſhould forfeit all his goods and poſſeſſions.

Again,

Again, the cuſtom which many *Chriſtian Churches* have to fly to the Civil Magiſtrate for coertion of thoſe that will not otherwiſe be reformed, theſe things are proof ſufficient, that even in *Chriſtian Religion*, the power wherewith *Eccleſiaſtical* perſons were indued at the firſt, unable to do of it ſelf ſo much as when ſecular power doth ſtrengthen it, and that not by way of Miniſtry or Service, but of predominancie, ſuch as the *Kings of Iſrael* in their time exerciſed over the *Church of God*.

Yea but the *Church of God* was then reſtrained more narrowly to one people and one *king*; which now being ſpread throughout all Kingdoms, it would be a cauſe of great diſſimilitude in the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, if every King ſhould be over the Affairs of the *Church*, where he reigneth Supream Ruler.

Diſſimilitude in great things, is ſuch a thing which draweth great inconvenience after it, a thing which *Chriſtian Religion* muſt always carefully prevent. And the way to prevent it is not, as ſome do imagine, the yielding up of Supream Power over all *Churches* into one only Paſtors hands, but the framing of their government, eſpecially for matter of ſubſtance, every wher according to one only Law, to ſtand in no leſs force then the Law of Nations doth to be received in all Kingdoms; all Soveraigne Rulers to be ſworn no otherwiſe unto it, then ſome are to maintain the Liberties, Laws, and received Cuſtoms of the Country where they reign: This ſhall cauſe uniformity even under ſeveral Dominions, without thoſe woful inconveniencies whereunto the State of *Chriſtendom* was ſubject heretofore, through the Tyranny and Oppreſsion of that one univerſal *Nimrod*, who alone did all.

And

And till the *christian* world be driven to enter into the peaceable and true consultation about some such kind of general Law concerning those things of weight and moment wherein now we differ; If one *church* hath not the same order which another hath, let every Church keep as near as may be the order it should have, and commend the just defence thereof unto God, even as *Judah* did when it differed in the exercise of Religion from that form which *Israel* followed.

Concerning therefore the matter whereof we have hitherto spoken, let it stand for our final conclusion, that in a free *christian* State or Kingdom, where one and the self same people are the *church* and the *commonwealth*, *God* through *christ* directing that people, to see it for good and weighty considerations expedient, that their Soveraign Lord and Governor in causes Civil, have also in *Ecclesiastical* Affairs a Supream Power; Forasmuch as the Light of reason doth lead them unto it, and against it, Gods own revealed law, hath nothing; surely they do not in submitting themselves thereunto, any other then that which a wise and religious people ought to do; it was but a little over-flowing of wit in *Thomas Aquinas*, so to play upon the words of *Moses* in the old, and of *Peter* in the new *Testament*; as though because the one did term the *Jews* a Priestly Kingdom, the other us a *Kingly Priesthood*: Those two Substantives *Kingdom* and *Priesthood*, should import that *Judaisme* did stand through the Kings Superiority over *Priests*, *christianity* through the *Priests* Supream Authority over *Kings*. Is it probable that *Moses* and *Peter* had herein so nice and curious conceits? or else more likely that both meant one and the same thing, namely that

Exod. 19.

1 Pet. 2.

* *Thom. in eum locum.*

God

God doth glorifie and ſanctifie his, even with full perfection in both; which thing St. *John* doth in plainer ſort expreſs, ſaying that Chriſt hath made us both *Kings* and *Prieſts*. Revel. 1. 6.

Wherein it is from the purpoſe altogether alledged that *Conſtantine* termeth *church-Officers Overſeers* of things within the *church*, *himſelf of thoſe without the church*; that *Hilarie* beſeecheth the *Emperor Conſtance* to provide that the Governor of his Provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the judgment of *Eccleſiaſtical* Cauſes, unto whom *commonwealth* matters only belonged. That *Ambroſe* affirmeth *Palaces* to belong unto the Emperor: but *churches* to the *miniſter*; The Emperor to have Authority of the *common walls* of the city, and not over holy things; for which cauſe he would never yield to have the cauſes of the Church debated in the Princes *conſiſtory*, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor *Valentinian* for that being convented to anſwer concerning Church matters in a Civil Court, he came not. That *Auguſtine* witneſſeth how the *Emperor* not daring to judge of the Biſhops cauſe committed it unto the Biſhops, and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the *Donatiſts* importunity which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs, all which hereupon may be inferred reacheth no further then only unto the *adminiſtration of Church Affairs*, or the *determination of Strifes and Controverſie*, riſing about the matter of Religion: It proveth that in former ages of the world it hath been judged moſt *convenient* for *Church-Officers* to have the

[* This is alſo wanting in the common copy.]

* *Euſeb. l. 4. de vit.* Conſtant.

* *Dib. ad conſt.*

* *Lib. 5. Epi. 33.*

* *Ep. 166. 162.*

the hearing of cauſes meerly *Eccleſiaſticall*, and not the *Emperour* himſelf in perſon to give ſentence of them. No one man can be ſufficient for all things.

And therefore publick affairs are divided, each kind, in all well ordered States, allotted unto ſuch kind of perſons, as reaſon preſumeth fitteſt to handle them. Reaſon cannot preſume *Kings* ordinarily ſo skilfull as to be perſonal Judges meet for the *common* hearing and determining of *Church controverſies*. But they which are hereunto appointed and have all their proceedings authorized by ſuch power as may cauſe them to take effect. The principality of which power (in making Laws, whereupon all theſe things depend) is not by any of theſe allegations proved incommunicable unto Kings, although not both in ſuch ſort, but that ſtill it is granted by the one, that albeit *Eccleſiaſtical Councels* conſiſting of *Church Officers* did frame the Lawes, whereby the Church affairs were ordered in ancient times; yet no *Canon*, no not of any *Councel* had the force of *Law* in the Church, unleſs it were ratified and confirmed by the *Emperour*, being *Chriſtian*.

Seeing therefore it is acknowledged that it was then the manner of the *Emperor* to confirm the Ordinances
T.C. l.1. p 193. which were made by the *Miniſters*, which is as much in effect to ſay that the Emperour had in *Church Ordinances*, a voice negative, and that without his confirmation they had not the ſtrength of publick Ordinances; Why are we condemned as giving more unto Kings then the *Church* did in thoſe times, we giving them no more but the ſupreme power which the *Emperor* did then exercile with much larger ſcope then at this day) any *Chriſtian King*, either doth ar poſſibly can uſe it over the *Church?*

The

The caſe is not like when ſuch Aſſemblies are gathered togeather by ſupreme authority concerning other affairs of the *Church*, and when they meet about the making *Eccleſiaſticall* Lawes or Statutes. For in the one they only are to adviſe, in the other they are to decree: The perſons which are of the one the *King* doth voluntarily aſſemble as being in reſpect of gravity fit to conſult withall; them which are of the other he calleth by preſcript of Law as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themſelves, and their ſentence hath but the weight of their own judgement; the other repreſent the whole *Clergie*, and their voices are as much as if all did give perſonal verdict. Now the queſtion is whether the *Clergie* alone ſo aſſembled ought to have the whole power of making Eccleſiaſticall Laws, or elſe conſent of the Laity may thereunto be made neceſſarie, and the *Kings* aſſent ſo neceſſary, that his ſole deniall may be of force to ſtay them from being Laws.

* This is in the common copies. [That is, in the copies which the Primate then ſaw, but not in that which is now printed]

* Of their power in making Eccleſiaſticall Laws.

If they with whom we diſpute were uniform, ſtrong and conſtant in that which they ſay we ſhould not need to trouble our ſelves about their perſons to whom the power of making Laws for the *Church* belongeth; For they are ſometimes very vehement in contention, that from the greateſt thing unto the leaſt about the *Church* all muſt needs be immediatly from God: & to this they apply the patern of the ancient Tabernacle which God delivered unto *Moſes*, and was therein ſo exact, that there was not left as much as the leaſt pin for the wit of man to deviſe in the framing of it. To this they alſo apply that ſtrict and ſevere charge which God ſo often

* What Laws may be made for the affairs of the Church, & to whom the power of making them appertaineth

Deut. 12. 32. 4. 2. Joſ. 1. 7.

ten gave concerning his own Law; *Whatſoever I command you take heed you dot it; thou ſhalt put nothing thereto, thou ſhalt take nothing from it*; nothing, whether it be great or ſmal. Yet ſometime bethinking themſelves better, they ſpeak as acknowledging that it doth ſuffice to have received in ſuch ſort the principall things from God, and that for other matters the *Church* hath ſufficient authority to make Laws; wherupon they now have made it a queſtion, what perſons they are, whoſe right it is to take order for the *Churches* affairs when the inſtitution of any new thing therein is requiſite. Laws may be requiſite to be made either concerning things that are only to be known and believed in, or elſe touching that which is to be done by the *Church* of God. The Law of nature and the Law of God are ſufficient for declaration in both, what belongeth unto each man ſeparately as his ſoule is the ſpouſe of Chriſt; yea ſo ſufficient that they plainly and fully ſhew whatſoever God doth require by way of neceſſary introduction unto the ſtate of everlaſting bliſs. But as a man liveth joyned with others in common ſociety, and belongeth unto the outward politique body of the *Church*, albeit the ſaid Law of Nature and of Scripture, have in this reſpect alſo made manifeſt the things that are of greateſt neceſſity, nevertheleſs by reaſon of new occaſions ſtill ariſing, which the *Church*, having care of ſouls muſt take order for, as need requireth; hereby it cometh to paſs, that there is, and ever will be ſo great uſe even of humane Laws and Ordinances deducted by way of diſcourſe, as concluſions from the former divine and natural ſerving for principles thereunto. No man doubteth but that for matters of action and practice

* *Thom. 2. quæſt. 108. artic. 2.*

dice in the affairs of God, for manner in divine ſervice, for order in Eccleſiaſtical proceedings about the Regiment of the *Church*, there may be oftentimes cauſe very urgent to have Laws made: but the reaſon is not ſo plain, wherefore humane Laws ſhould appoint men what to believe.

Wherefore in this we muſt note two things: *Firſt*, that in matter of opinion, the Law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matters of action it cauſeth that to be duty which was not before; but it manifeſteth only and giveth men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. *Secondly*, that as opinions doe cleave to the underſtanding, and are in heart aſſerted unto, it is not in the power of any humane Law to command them, becauſe to preſcribe what men ſhall think, belongeth only unto God *corde creditur ore fit confeſsio*, ſaith the Apoſtle: As opinions are either fit or inconvenienr to be profeſſed, ſo mans Law hath to determine of them. It may for publick unities ſake require mens profeſſed aſſent, or prohibit their contradiction to ſpeciall articles, wherein as there happily hath bin controverſie what is true, ſo the ſame were like to continue ſtill, not without grievous detriment unto a number of ſouls, except Law to remedy that evil ſhould ſet down a certainty, which no man afterwards is to gain-ſay.

Wherefore as in regard of divine Lawes, which the *Church* receiveth from God, we may unto every man apply thoſe words of wiſdom in *Solomon*, *Conſerva fili mi præcepta patris tui*, *My ſonne keep thou thy fathers precepts*: Even ſo concerning the ſtatutes and ordinan- Prov. 6.

ces which the *Church* it ſelf makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow : *Et ne dimittas legem matris tuæ, And forſake not thou thy mothers Law.* It is undoubtedly a thing even naturall, that all free and independent ſocieties ſhould themſelves make their own Lawes. And that this power ſhould belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a politique body, though happily ſome one part may have greater ſway in that action then the reſt. Which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all Lawes, we ſee no cauſe why to think otherwiſe in lawes concerning the ſervice of God, which in all well-ordered States and Common-wealthes is the firſt thing that Law hath care to provide for : When we ſpeak of the right which naturally belongeth to a Common-wealth, we ſpeak of that which muſt needs belong to the *Church* of God ; For if the Common-wealth be *Chriſtian* ; if the people which are of it do publickly imbrace the true Religion, this very thing doth make it the *Church*, as hath been ſhewed ; ſo that unleſs the verity and purity of Religion doe take from them which imbrace it, that power wherewith otherwiſe they are poſſeſſed : Look what authority, as touching Laws for Religion a Common-wealth hath ſimply .....

Δεῖ τὸν νόμον τὰ περὶ θεοῦς καὶ δαιμόνας, καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τιθέσθαι, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ συντέροντα, τὰ γὰρ μείονα τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀκολουθεῖν καθὴκει. Archit. de lege & juſtit.

Here this breaks off abruptly.

The

The Princes power in the advancement of Biſhops, unto the rooms of Prelacy.

TOuching the advancement of *Prelats* unto their rooms by the *King:* Whereas it ſeemeth in the eyes of many a thing very ſtrange, that *Prelates* the Officers of Gods own Sanctuary, then which nothing is more ſacred, ſhould be made by perſons ſecular; there are that will not have *Kings* be altogether of the Laitie, but to participate that ſanctifyed power which God hath indued his Clergy with, and that in ſuch reſpect they are *anointed* with oyle. A ſhift vain and needleſs for as much as if we ſpeak properly, we cannot ſay *Kings* do make, but that they only do place *Biſhops*, for in a *Biſhop* there are theſe three things to be conſidered; The power whereby he is diſtinguiſhed from other Paſtors; The ſpecial portion of the *Clergy*, and the people over whom he is to exerciſe that Biſhoplie Power; and the place of his Seat or Throne, together with the Profits, Preheminencies, Honors thereunto belonging. The firſt every Biſhop hath by conſecration, the ſecond the Election inveſted him with, the third he receiveth of the *King* alone.

[*This is wanting in the common books of Mr *Hooker's* M. S.]

Which conſecration the *King* intermedleth not farther then only by his Letters to preſent ſuch an elect Biſhop as ſhall be conſecrated. Seeing therefore that none but Biſhops do conſecrate, it followeth that none but they do give unto every Biſhop his being: The manner of uniting Biſhops as heads unto the flock, and Clergy under

der them, hath often altered; for if ſome be not deceived, this thing was ſomtime done even without any election at all. At the firſt (ſaith he to whom the name of *Ambroſe* is given) the firſt created in the Colledg of Presbyters was ſtill the Biſhop, he dying, the next Senior did ſucceed him. *Sed quia cœperunt ſequentes Preſbyteri indigni inveniri ad primatus tenẽdos, immutata eſt ratio, proſpiciente concilio, ut non ordo ſed meritũ crearet epiſcopum multorum, ſacerdotum conſtitutum, ne indignus temere uſurparet & eſſet multis ſcandalum*; In elections at the beginning the Clergy and the people both had to do, although not both after one ſort. The people gave their Teſtimonie and ſhewed their affection either of deſire or diſlike concerning the party which was to be choſen. But the choice was wholy in the ſacred Colledg of *Presbyters*, hereunto it is that thoſe uſual ſpeeches of the antient do commonly allude, as when *Pontius* concerning St. *Cyprians* election ſaith he was choſen *judicio Dei & populi favore*, by the judgment of God, and favor of the people, the one branch alluding to the voices of the Eccleſiaſtical Senat which with religious ſincerity choſe him, the other to the peoples affection, who earneſtly deſired to have him choſen their Biſhop. Again, *Leo, nulla ratio ſinit, ut inter Epiſcopos habeantur qui nec a clericis ſunt electi nec applebibus expetiti.* No reaſon doth grant that they ſhould be reckoned amongſt Biſhops whom neither Clergy hath elected, nor Laitie coveted, in like ſort *Honorius*. Let him only be eſtabliſhed Biſhop in the Sea of *Rome*, whom Divine Judgment and univerſal conſent hath choſen.

In vit. Cypr.

Nulla ratio Diſt. 63.

* Ep. Honor. Imp. ad Bonif. Concil. Tom. 1.

That difference which is between the form of electing

ding Biſhops at this day with us, and that which was uſual in former ages riſeth from the ground of that right which the *Kings* of this Land do claim in furniſhing the places where Biſhops elected & conſecrated are to reſide as Biſhops: for conſidering the huge charges which the ancient famous Princes of this Land have been at, as well in erecting Epiſcopal Seas, as alſo in endowing them with ample poſſeſſions, ſure of their religious magnificence and bounty, we cannot think but to have been moſt deſervedly honored, with thoſe Royall prerogatives, taking the benefit which groweth out of them in their vacancy, and of advancing alone unto ſuch dignities what perſons they judge moſt fit for the ſame. A thing over and beſides, even therefore the more ſeaſonable, for that as the *King* moſt juſtly hath preheminence to make Lords Temporal, which are not ſuch by right of birth, ſo the like preheminence of beſtowing where pleaſeth him the honour of Spiritual Nobility alſo cannot ſeem hard, Biſhops being Peers of the Realm, and by law it ſelf ſo reckoned.

Now whether we grant ſo much unto *Kings* in this reſpect, or in the former conſideration, whereupon the Lawes have annexed it unto the Crown it muſt of neceſſity being granted both make void whatſoever intereſt the people aforetime hath had towards the choice of their own Biſhop, and alſo reſtrain the very act of Canonical election uſually made by the Dean and Chapter, as with us in ſuch ſort it doth, that they neither can proceed unto any election till * leav be granted, nor * elect any perſon but that is named unto them. If they might doe the one it would be in them

* 25 *Ed.* 3.

* 25 *Ed.* 3.
* 25 *H.* 8. c. 20

to

to defeat the King of his profits: If the other, then were the Kings preheminences of granting those dignities nothing. And therefore were it not for certain *Canons* requiring canonical election to be before consecration, I see no cause but that the *Kings* Letters patents alone might suffice well enough to that purpose, as by Law they doe in case those *Electors* should happen not to satisfie the *Kings* pleasure. Their election is now but a matter of form; it is the *Kings* meer grant which placeth, and the Bishops consecration which maketh Bishops: Neither do the *Kings* of this Land use herein any other then such prerogatives as foraign Nations have been accustomed unto.

* *C. Nullus, Dist. 63.*

About the year of our Lord 425. Pope *Boniface* sollicited most earnestly the Emperour *Honorius* to take some order that the Bishops of *Rome* might be created without ambitious seeking of the place. A needless petition if so be the Emperour had no right at all in the placing of Bishops there. But from the days of *Justinian* the Emperour about the year 553. *Onuphrius* himself doth grant that no man was Bishop in the Sea of *Rome* whom first the Emperor by his Letters-patents did not licence to be consecrated, till in *Benedicts* time it pleased the Emperor to forgoe that right, which afterwards was restored to *Charles* with augmentation, and continued in his successors till such time as *Hildebrand* took it from *Hen.* 4. and ever since the *Cardinals* have held it as at this day.

* *Tom. 1. concil.*

* *Onuph. in Pelag. 2.*

Had not the right of giving them belonged to the *Emperours* of *Rome* within the compass of their Dominions what needeth *Pope Leo* the fourth to trouble *Lotharius* and *Lodowick* with those his Letters whereby having

having done them to understand that the *Church* called *Reatina* was without a Bishop, he maketh suit that one *Colonus* might have the *Rome*, or if that were otherwise disposed, his next request was, *Tusculanam Ecclesiam quæ viduata existit illi vestra serenitas dignetur concedere, ut consecratis à nostro presulatu Deo omnipotenti vestroque imperio grates peragere valeat:* May it please your Clemencies to grant unto him the *Church* of *Tuscula*, now likewise void, that by our Episcopal authority, he being after consecrated may be to Almighty God and your *Highness* therefore thankfull.

* c Rea in. Dist. 63.

Touching other Bishopricks extant, there is a very short, but a plain discourse written almost 500. years since, by occasion of that miserable contention raised between the Emperor *Henr.* 4. and Pope *Hildebrand*, named otherwise *Gregory* the seventh, not as *Platina* would bear men in hand for that the B. of *Rome* would not brook the Emperors Symoniacall dealing, but because the right which *Christian Kings* and *Emperors* had to invest Bishops, hindred so much his ambitious designments, that nothing could detain him from attempting to wrest it violently out of their hands. This Treatise I mention for that it shortly comprehendeth not only the fore-alledged right of the Emperour of *Rome*, acknowledged by six several *Popes*, even with bitter execration against whomsoever of their successors that should by word or deed at any time goe about to infringe the same, but also further these other specialties appertaining thereunto: *First*, that the Bishops likewise of *Spain*, *England*, *Scotland*, *Hungary* had by ancient institution alwaies been invested by their *Kings* without opposition or disturbance. *Second-*

* Walthramus Naumburgensis, de investit Episcoporum per Imperat. faciendâ.

ly, that ſuch was their royal intereſt partly for that they were founders of Biſhopricks, partly becauſe they undertook the defence of them againſt all ravenous oppreſſions and wrongs, part in as much that it was not ſafe, that rooms of ſo great power and conſequence in their eſtate, ſhould without their appointment be held by any under them. And therfore that ev'n Biſhops then did homage, and took their oathes of fealty unto the *Kings* which inveſted them. *Thirdly*, that what ſolemnitity or Ceremony *Kings* do uſe in this action it skilleth not; as namely whether they doe it by word or by precept, ſet down in writing or by delivery of a ſtaffe and a ring, or by any other means whatſoever only that uſe and Cuſtome would, to avoid all offence, be kept. Some baſe Canoniſts there are which contend that neither *Kings* nor *Emperours* had ever any right hereunto ſaving only by the *Popes* either grant or toleration. Whereupon nor to ſpend any further labour we leave their folly to be controlled by men of more ingenuity & judgment even amongſt themſelves: *Duarenſis, Papon, Choppinus, Ægidius, Magiſter, Arnulphus, Ruzæus, Coſtvius, Philippus Probus*, and the reſt, by whom the right of *Chriſtian Kings and Princes* herein is maintained to be ſuch as the *Biſhops* of *Rome* cannot lawfully either withdraw, or abridge or hinder. But of this thing there is with us no queſtion although with them there be; the Laws and cuſtomes of the Realm approving ſuch regalities in caſe no reaſon thereof did appear, yet are they hereby abundantly warranted unto us, except ſome Law of God or nature to the contrary could be ſhewed.

How much more when they have been every where thought

thought ſo reaſonable, that *Chriſtian Kings* throughout the world uſe and exerciſe, if not altogether: yet ſurely with very little odds the ſame; ſo far that *Gregorie* the tenth forbidding ſuch regalities to be newly begun, where they were not in former times, if any doe claim thoſe rights from the firſt foundation of *Churches*, or by ancient cuſtome of them, he only requireth that neither they nor their agents damnifie the *Church of God*, by uſing the ſaid prerogatives: Now as there is no doubt but the *Church of England* by this means is much eaſed of ſome inconvemences, ſo likewiſe a ſpeciall care there is requiſite to be had, that other evils no leſs dangerous may not grow. By the hiſtory of former times it doth appear, that when the freedom of Elections was moſt large, mens dealings and proceedings therein were not the leaſt faulty.

* *cap. General. de elect. l. 6.*

Of the people St. *Ierome* complaineth, that their judgements many times went much awrie, and that in allowing of their Biſhops, every man favoured his own quality, every ones deſire was not ſo much to be under the regiment of good and virtuous men, as of them which were like himſelf. What man is there whom it doth not exceedingly grieve to read the tumults, tragidies, and ſchiſmes which were raiſed by occaſion of the *Clergy* at ſuch times as divers of them ſtanding for ſome one place, there was not any kind of practiſe though never ſo unhoneſt ot vile left unaſſaied, whereby men might ſupplant their Competitors, and the one ſide foil the other. *Sidonius* ſpeaking of a Biſhoprick void in his time: *The deceaſe of the former Biſhop* (ſaith he) *was an alarm to ſuch as would labour for the roome: Whereupon the people forthwith betaking themſelves unto*

* *Adver. Jovin. l. 1.*

* *L. 7. Epiſt. 5.*

parts, ſtorm on each ſide, few there are that make ſuit for the advancement of any other man; many who not only offer but enforce themſelves. All things light, variable, counterfeit. What ſhould I ſay? I ſee not any thing plain and open but impudence only.

In the Church of *Conſtantinople* about the election of S. *Chryſoſtome* by reaſon that ſome ſtrove mightily for him and ſome for *Nectarius*, the troubles growing had not been ſmall, but that *Arcadius* the Emperor interpoſed himſelf; even as at *Rome* the Emperor *Valentinian*, whoſe forces were hardly able to eſtabliſh *Damaſus* Biſhop, and to compoſe the ſtrife between him and his Competitor *Urſicinus*, about whoſe election the blood of 137 was already ſhed. Where things did not break out into ſo manifeſt and open flames, yet between them which obtained the place, and ſuch as before withſtood their promotion, that ſecret hart burning often grew, which could not afterwards be eaſily ſlaked; inſomuch that *Pontius* doth note it as a rare point of vertue in *Cyprian*, that whereas ſome were againſt his election, he notwithſtanding dealt ever after in moſt friendly manner with them, all men wondering that ſo good a memory was ſo eaſily able to forget. Theſe and other the like hurts accuſtomed to grow from ancient elections we doe not feel. Howbeit leaſt the Church in more hidden ſort ſhould ſuſtain even as grievous detriment by that order which is now of force; we are moſt humbly to crave at the hands of Soveraign *Kings* and *Governors*, the higheſt *Patrons* which this Church of *Chriſt* hath on earth, that it would pleaſe them to be advertiſed thus much.

Albeit theſe things which have been ſometimes, done

* *Theod. lib. 5. cap. 27.*
* *Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 2.*
* *Marcel. l. 15.*
* *Socr. 2. c. 27. & l. 4. c. 29.*
* *Theod. l. 2. c. 15, 16, 17.*
* *Sozom. lib. 4. c. 11. & l. 6. c. 23.*
* *Invit. Cypr.*

done by any ſort may afterwards appertain unto others, and ſo the kind of Agents vary as occaſions dayly growing ſhall require, yet ſundry unremovable and unchangeable burthens of duty there are annexed unto every kind of publique action, which burthens in this caſe Princes muſt know themſelves to ſtand now charged with in Gods ſight, no leſſe than the People and the Clergy, when the power of electing their *Prelates* did reſt fully and wholly in them.

A fault it had been if they ſhould in choice have preferred any, whom deſert of moſt holy life and the gift of divine wiſedome did not commend, a fault if they had permitted long the rooms of the principal *Paſtors* of *God* to continue void, not to preſerve the *Church* patrimony, as good to each Succeſſor as any Predeceſſor enjoy the ſame, had been in them a moſt odious & grievous fault. Simply, good and evil doe not looſe their nature. That which was is the one or the other, whatſoever the ſubject of either be. The faults mentioned are in *Kings* by ſo much greater for that in what *Churches* they exerciſe thoſe *Regalities*, whereof we do now intreat, the ſame *Churches* they have received into their ſpeciall care and cuſtody, with no leſſe effectual obligation of conſcience then the *Tutor* ſtandeth bound in for the perſon and ſtate of that pupill whom he hath ſolemnly taken upon him to protect and keep. All power is given unto edification, none to the overthrow and deſtruction of the *Church*. Concerning therefore the *firſt* branch of ſpiritual dominion, thus much may ſuffice, ſeeing that they with whom we contend doe not directly oppoſe themſelves againſt regalities, but only ſo far forth as generally they hold that no *Church dignity* ſhould

* *C. Sacrorum Canon. diſt. 63.*

* *C. Leſtis Diſt. 63.*

ſhould be granted without conſent of the common People, and that there ought not to be in the Church of Chriſt any Epiſcopall Rooms for Princes to uſe their Regalitie in. Of both which qneſtions we have ſufficiently ſpoken before.

[* This is in the common Copy of Mr. *Hooke's* M. S. that is, in the copies which the Primate then ſaw, but not in the now printed ones.]

As therefore the perſon of the King may for juſt conſideration, even where the cauſe is civil, be notwithſtanding withdrawn from occupying the ſeat of Judgment and others under his authority be fit, he unfit himſelf to judge; ſo the conſiderations for which it were happily not convenient for *Kings*, to ſit and give ſentence in ſpiritual Courts, where cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are uſually debated, can be no bar to that force and efficacie which their Sovereign power hath over thoſe very *Conſiſtories*, and for which we hold without any exception that all *Courts* are the *Kings*. All men are not for all things ſufficient, and therefore publick affairs being divided, ſuch perſons muſt be authoriſed Judges in each kinde as common reaſon may preſume to be moſt fit; Which cannot of *King's* and *Princes* ordinarily be preſumed in cauſes meerly Eccleſiaſtical; ſo that even common ſenſe doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other men. We ſee it hereby a thing neceſſary to put a difference as well between that ordinary juriſdiction which belongeth to the Clergy alone, and that Commiſsionary wherein others are for juſt conſiderations appointed to joyn with them, as alſo between both theſe *Juriſdictions* and a third, whereby the King hath a tranſcendent Authority, and that in all cauſes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him, there is no reaſon. A time there was when *Kings* were not capable of any ſuch power, as namely when

when they profeſſed themſelves open Adverſaries unto *Chriſt* and *chriſtianity*. A time there followed when they being capable, took ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs to themſelves, as ſeem'd beſt in their own eyes, becauſe no certainty touching their right was as yet determined.

The Biſhops who alone were before accuſtomed to have the ordering of ſuch Affairs, ſaw very juſt cauſe of grief when the higheſt, favoring Hereſie, withſtood by the ſtrength of Soveraign Authority, religious proceedings; whereupon they oftentimes againſt this unreſiſtable Power, pleaded that uſe and cuſtom which had been to the contrary; namely, that the Affairs of the *church* ſhould be dealt in by the *clergy* and by no other, unto which purpoſe the ſentences that then were uttered in defence of unabolifhing Orders and Laws, againſt ſuch as did of their own heads contrary thereunto, are now altogether impertinently brought in oppoſition againſt them who uſe but that power which Laws have given them, unleſs men can ſhow that there is in thoſe Laws ſome manifeſt Iniquity or Injuſtice. Whereas therefore againſt the force Judicial & Imperial which Supream Authority hath, it is alledged how *Conſtantine* termeth Church Officers, Overſeers of things *within* the *Church*, himſelf of all *without* the Church; how *Auguſtine* witneſſeth that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Biſhops cauſe, committed it unto the Biſhops, and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the *Donatiſts* importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was (being weary of them) drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs, how *Hilarie* beſeecheth the Emperor *Conſtance* to provide

* *T.C. lib* 3. *Pag.* 155.

* *Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. lib.* 4.

* *Epiſt.* 162. 166.

* *Lib. ad Conſtant.*

vide that the Governors of his Provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the Judgment of *Eccleſiaſtical cauſes*, to whom Commonwealth matters only belonged; how *Ambroſe* affirmeth that Palaces belong unto the Emperor, Churches to the Miniſter, that the Emperor hath Authority over the Commonwealth of the City, and not in holy things, for which cauſe he never would yield to have the Cauſes of the Church debated in the *Princes Conſiſtory*, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor *Valentinian*, for that being convented to Anſwer concerning *Church Matters* in a civil court, he came not.

* Lib. 5. Ep 33

[Beſides theſe Teſtimonies of Antiquity, which Mr. *Cart.* bringeth forth, Doctor *Stapleton* who likewiſe citeth them one by one to the ſame purpoſe, hath augmented the number of them, by adding other of the like nature; namely, how *Hoſius* the Biſhop of *Cordu-ba* anſwered the Emperor, ſaying, God hath committed to thee the Empire; with thoſe things that belong to the *Church*, he hath put us in truſt. How *Leontius* Biſhop of *Tripolis* alſo told the ſelf ſame Emperor as much. *I wonder how thou which art called unto one thing, takeſt upon thee to deal in another, for being placed in Military and Politique Affairs, in things that belong unto Biſhops alone thou wilt bear rule.*] We may by theſe Teſtimonies drawn from Antiquity, if we liſt to conſider them, diſcern how requiſite it is that Authority ſhould always follow received laws in the manner of proceeding. For in as much as there was at the firſt no certain law determining what force the principal Civil Magiſtrates Authority ſhould be of, how far it ſhould reach, and what order it ſhould obſerve, but *Chriſtian Emperors* from time to time did what themſelves thought moſt

* *Inclu'a deſunt in vul aliis exempl. ib.*

* *Doctrin. princip. lib 5. Cont. 2 cap. 18.*

* *Apud Athanaſ in Epiſt. ad ſolit. vit. agentes.*

* *Suid. in verb.* Leontius.

moſt reaſonable, in thoſe Affairs, by this mean it com eth to paſs, that they in their practice varie, and are not uniforme.

Vertuous Emperors, ſuch as *Conſtantine* the great was, made conſcience to ſwerve unneceſſarily from the cuſtomes which had been uſed in the *Church*, even when it lived under Infidels. *Conſtantine* of reverence to Biſhops, and their ſpiritual authority, rather abſtained from that which himſelf might lawfully do, then was willing to claim a power not fit or decent for him to exerciſe. The order which had been before he ratifieth, exhorting Biſhops to look to the *Church*, and promiſing that he would do the office of a Biſhop over the Common-wealth. Which very *Conſtantine* notwithſtanding did not thereby ſo renounce all authority in judging of ſpirituall cauſes, but that ſometimes he took, as St. *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, even perſonall cognition of them. Howbeit whether as purpoſing to give therein judicially any ſentence, I ſtand in doubt; for if the other, of whom St. *Auguſtine* elſewhere ſpeaketh, did in ſuch ſort judge, ſurely there was cauſe why he ſhould excuſe it as a thing not uſually done. Otherwiſe there is no let but that any ſuch great perſon may hear thoſe cauſes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which ſide himſelf doth judge that the truth is. But this kind of ſentence bindeth no ſide to ſtand thereunto: it is a ſentence of private perſwaſion, and not of ſolemn juriſdiction, albeit a King or an Emperour pronounce it.

* Epiſt. 68.

Again on the contrary part, when Governors infected with Hereſie were poſſeſſed of the higheſt power they thought they might uſe it, as pleaſed themſelves

to further by all means therewith that opinion which they desired should prevail. They not respecting at all what was meet, presumed to command and judge all men in all causes without either care of orderly proceeding or regard to such laws & customs as the *Church* had been wont to observe. So that the one sort feared to doe even that which they might, and that which the other ought not they boldly presumed upon: the one sort modestly excused themselves when they scace needed, the other though doing that which was inexsable bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any man how far they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds between them whom before we mentioned, and such as the younger *Valentinian*, by whom St. *Ambrose* being commanded to yeild up one of the *Churches* under him unto the *Arrians*, whereas they which were sent on his message, alledged that the Emperour did but use his own right for as much as all things were in his own power, the answer which the holy Bishop gave them was, that the *Church* is the House of God, and that those things which be Gods are not to be yielded up and disposed of at the Emperors will and pleasure; his pallaces he might grant unto whomsoever. A cause why many times Emperours did more by their absolute authority then could very well stand with reason, was the over-great importunity of wicked *Hereticks*, who being enemies to peace and quietness cannot otherwise then by violent means be supported. In this respect therefore we must needs think the state of our own *Church* much better settled then theirs was, because our Laws have with farr more certainty prescribed bounds unto each kind of power.

All

All deciſions of things doubtfull, and corrections of things amiſs are proceeded in by order of Law, what perſon ſoever he be unto whom the adminiſtration of judgement belongeth: It is neither permitted unto Prelate nor Prince to judge and determin at their own diſcretion, but Law hath preſcribed what both ſhall do. What power the King hath, he hath it by Law, the bounds and limits of it are known. The entire community giveth general order by Law how all things publickly are to be done, and the King as the head thereof the higheſt in authority over all, cauſeth according to the ſame Law every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politick maketh Lawes, which Lawes give power unto the King, and the King having bound himſelf to uſe according unto Law that power, it ſo falleth out that the execution of the one is accompliſhed by the other in moſt religious and peaceable ſort. There is no cauſe given unto any to make ſupplication as *Hilary* did, that *Civil Covernors* to whom Common-wealth matters only belong, may not preſume to take upon them the judgment of Eccleſiaſtical cauſes.

If the cauſe be ſpiritual, ſecular *Courts* doe not meddle with it, we need not excuſe our ſelves with *Ambroſe*, but boldly and lawfully we may refuſe to anſwer before any Civill Judge in a matter which is not Civill; ſo that we doe not miſtake the nature either of the cauſe or of the *Court*, as we eaſily may doe both, without ſome better direction then can be had by the rules of this new-found *Diſciplines* But of this moſt ceertain we are that our

Lawes doe neither ſuffer a * *Spirituall Court* to entertain thoſe cauſes which by Law are *Civil*; nor yet if the matter be indeed ſpirituall a meer *Civil Court* to give judgement of it. Touching ſupreme power therefore to command all men, and in all manner of cauſes of judgement to be higheſt. Let thus much ſuffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

* See the Statute of *Edward* 1. and *Edward* 2. and *Nat. Brev.* touching Prohibition. See alſo in *Bracton* theſe ſentences *l.* 5. *c.* 2. *Eſt juriſdictio quædã ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium & forum Eccleſiaſticum, ſicut in cauſis ſpiritualibus & ſpiritualitati annexis. Eſt etiam alia juriſdictio, ordinaria vel delegata, quæ pertinet ad Coronam & dignitatem Regis & ad Regnum, in cauſis & placitis rerum temporalium in foro ſeculari.* Again, *Cum diverſæ ſint hinc inde juriſdictiones, & diverſæ judices, & diverſæ cauſæ; debet quilibet ipſorum in primis æſtimare, an ſua ſit juriſdictio, ne falcem videatur ponere in meſſem alienam.* Again, *Non pertinet ad Regem injungere pœnitentias, nec ad judicem ſecularem. Nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoſcere de iis quæ ſunt, ſpiritualibus annexa, ſicut de decimis & aliis Eccleſiæ proventionibus.* Again, *Non eſt laicus conveniendus coram judice Eccleſiaſtico de aliquo quod in foro ſeculari terminari poſſit & debeat.*

This is added by the Lord Primat Uſher.

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* *The Kings exemption from Cenſure, and other Judiciall Power.*

[* None of all this which follows is to be found in the common coppy of Mr *Hookers* MS.]

THe laſt thing of all which concerns the Kings Supremacie is whither thereby he may be exempted from being ſubject to that judiciall Power which Eccleſiaſticall conſiſtories have over men. It ſeemeth firſt in moſt mens Judgements to be requiſite, that on earth there ſhould not be any alive altogether without ſtanding in aw of ſome by whom they may be controled and bridled.

The good eſtate of a Commonwealth within it ſelf

is

is thought on nothing to depend more then upon theſe two ſpeciall affections *Feare* and *Love*: *Feare* in the higheſt Governour himſelf, and *Love* in the Subjects that live under Him. The Subjects love for the moſt part continueth as long as the righteouſneſs of Kings doth laſt, in whom vertue decaieth not as long as they feare to do that which may alienate the loving hearts of their Subjects from them. Feare to do evill groweth from the harm which evill doers are to ſuffer. If therefore private men which know the danger they are ſubject unto, being malefactors, do notwithſtanding ſo boldly adventure upon heinous crimes, Only becauſe they know it is poſſible for ſome Tranſgreſſor ſometimes to eſcape the danger of law. In the Mighty upon earth (which are not alwaies ſo Virtuous and Holy that their own good minds will bridle them) what may we look for conſidering the frailty of mens nature, if the world do once hold it for a *Maxime* that Kings ought to live in no ſubjection, that how grievous diſorder ſoever they fall into, none may have coercive power over them. Yet ſo it is that this we muſt neceſſarily admit as a number of rightwell Learned men are perſwaded.

Let us therefore ſet down firſt what there is which may induce men ſo to think, and then conſider their ſeverall inventions or ways who judge it a thing neceſſary even for Kings themſelves to be puniſhable, and that by men. The queſtion it ſelf we will not determine, The reaſons of each opinion being opened it ſhall be beſt for the wiſe to judge which of them is likelieſt to be true. Our purpoſe being not to oppugne any ſave onely that which Reformers hold and of the reſt rather to enquire then to give ſentance. Induce-

ments

ments leading men to think the higheſt *Majeſtrate* ſhould not be judged of any ſaving God alone, are ſpecially theſe.

Firſt, as there could be in naturall bodies no motion of any thing unleſſe there were ſome which moved all things and continueth unmoveable, even ſo in politick Societies, there muſt be ſome unpuniſhable or elſe no man ſhall ſuffer puniſhment, For ſith puniſhments proceed alwaies from Superiors to whom the adminiſtration of juſtice belongeth, which adminiſtration muſt have neceſſarily a fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, becauſe otherwiſe the Courſe of Juſtice ſhould go infinitely in a Circle every Superiour having his Superior without end; which cannot be; therefore a well-ſpring, it followeth there is, and a ſupreme head of Juſtice whereunto all are ſubject, but it ſelf in ſubjection to none. Which kind of Preheminence if ſome ought to have in a Kingdome, who but the King ſhall have it? Kings therefore no man can have lawfull power and Authority to judge.

If private men offend, there is the *Majeſtrate* over them which judgeth; if *Majeſtrates* they have their *Prince*. If Princes there is *Heaven*, a Tribunall, before which they ſhall appeare: on earth they are not accomptable to any.

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Here it breaks off abruptly.

The

The FORM
OF
Church Government,
Before and after Christ.
As it is expreſſed in the OLD *and* NEW TESTAMENT.

Of the Form of Government in the Old Teſtament.

THere were *Prieſts* before the Law.
Melchiſedech *Geneſ.* 14. 18.
In Egypt *Geneſ.* 46. 20, 41. 50. *Patiphera.*
In the *Eaſt*, *Job.* 12. 19. *Exod.* 2. 16. *Madian.*
Among the *Jews*. *Exod.* 19. 22, 24.
Theſe were *Young men* of the Sons of *Iſrael* *Exod.* 24. 5.
The *Eldeſt* Sons or *Firſt-Born* *Numb.* 3. 12. 8. 16.

Under

Under *MOSES.*

The *Commonwealth* of *Iſrael* was either *perſonal*, containing all the whole people, not a man left. רל חמ.

Or *Repreſentative* in which the { *Eſtate*, *Tribes*, *Cities*, whoſe *Daughters* the towns adjacent are called.

I. The Eſtate had ever one Governor,

1. *Moſes*,
2. *Joſhua*,
3. *Judges*,
4. *Tirſhathaes or* (Vice-Roys) *Ezra* 2. 63. with whom were joyned the LXX. *Elders* called (נשא) and (ערה.)

II. The *Tribes* had every one their *Prince*, נשיא *Phylarcha* (*Num.* 2.) with whom were joyned the *Chief of the Families*, *Patriarchæ* (*Num.* 1. 4.)

III. The *Cities* had each likewiſe their *Ruler*: *Judg.* 9. 30. 1 *Kings* 22. 26. 2 *Kings* 23. 8. with whom were joyned the *Elders*, or *Ancients* (*Ruth* 4. 2. *Ezra* 10. 14.

Theſe *laſt*, not before they came into *Canaan*, (and were ſetled in their Citys.)

It appeareth, that *Moſes* ſometime conſulted only with *the heads of the Tribes*, and then *one Trumpet* only ſounded, *Num.* 10. 4. In ſome other cauſes with the עדה (*or Aſſembly of the* LXX.) and then *both Trum-*

pets

pets called (*Num.* 10. 3.) * *when all did meet it repreſented the whole body of Iſrael*: [So then ſometimes all the people, the whole body of Iſrael met; ſometimes the whole people were repreſented by the chief men of the ſeveral Tribes.]

The *higheſt* BENCH, or *Judgment* for cauſes of greateſt difficulty was that of the LXX, who at the firſt were the *Fathers* of each *Family* that came down to *Egypt* (*Gen.* 46.) which *number* did after that remain, *Exod.* 24. 1. 9. and was at laſt by *God* himſelf ſo appointed *Num.* 11. 16. See (2 *Chron.* 19. 8.)

The *inferiour* BENCHES, for matters of leſs importance were erected by *Jethroes* advice.

Of Rulers of { *Thouſands*, *Hundreds*, *Fifties*, *Tithings* } *Exod.* 18. 21, 26,

And after eſtabliſhed by *Gods* approbation (*Deut.* 16.) *in every City*, *wherein* (as *Joſephus* ſaith) were ſeven Judges, and for each *Judge* two *Levites*, which made together the *Bench* of each *City*. * *Antiquit. l.* 4. *c.* 8.

The Forme of Eccleſiaſticall Government [*amongſt the* Prieſts.

THE *Prieſthood* was ſettled in the Tribe of *Levi* by God.

Levi had three Sons, *Cohath*, *Gerſhom* and *Merari*. Merari

Of theſe, Line of *Cohath* was preferred before the reſt.

From *him* deſcended four Families, *Amram*, *Izhar*, *Hebron*, and *Uzziel*.
Of theſe the Stock of *Amram* was made chief.
He had two Sons, *Aaron* and *Moſes*.
Aaron was by God appointed *High-prieſt*.
So that there came to be four diſtinctions of *Levites*:

1. *Aaron* as chief.
2. *Cohath*.
3. *Gerſhon*.
4. *Merari*.

The Common-wealth of *Iſrael* was at the beginning in the Deſert, a *Camp* in the middeſt whereof the *Ark* and *Tabernacle* were pitched; and according to the four *Coaſts* whereof they *quartered* themſelves, *on every ſide* three *Tribes*.

On the	East	ſide	*Judah, Iſſachar, Zabulon,*	*Num.* 2
	South		*Reuben, Simeon, Gad,*	verſe 3
	Weſt		*Ephraim, Manaſſes, Benjamin.*	10 18
	North		*Dan, Aſher, Naphtali.*	25

Theſe four *Quarters* were committed to thoſe four *Diviſions* of *Levites*.

The	East	quarter to	*Aaron* and his Family,	Numb. 3. verſe 38.
	South		The *Cohathites*,	29.
	Weſt		The *Gerſhonites*,	23.
	North		The *Merarites*.	35.

Who

Who lodged among them, and took charge of them as of their ſeveral *Wards*.

But there was not an * *equality* in theſe four; for,

1. *Aarons* Family, which bare the Ark it ſelf was *chief*.

2. *Cohaths*, which bare the Tabernacle, and Veſſels *next*.

3. *Gerſhons*, which bare the Veile and Hangings of the Court, *Third*

4. *Meraries*, which bare the Pillars and Poſts, *laſt*.

Neither were all the *Levites* of each of theſe ſeveral houſes *equal*, but God ordained a *ſuperiority* among them.

Over the	Prieſts	*Eleazar*	*Numb.* 3. *ver.*	30.
	Cohathites	*Elizaphan*		
	Gerſhonites	*Eliaſaph*		24.
	Merarites	*Zuriel*		35.

Whom he termeth *Neſiim*, that is, *Prelates* or *Superiors*. No, nor did he permit theſe four to be *equals* among themſelves; but

Appointed { *Ithamar* (*Exod.* 38. 21. to command over { *Eliaſaph* with his *Gerſhonites* *Num.* 4. 28. / *Zuriel* with his *Merarites*, *Num.* 4. 33.

Eleazar (*Nu.* 4. 16) to have juriſdiction over { his own Family. / *Elizaphan* with his *Cohathites*.

Note. Yea he maketh not *Eleazar*, and *Ithamar* to be abſolute *equalls*, but giveth *Eleazar* preeminence over *Ithamer*, and therefore termeth him *Naſi Naſiim*, *Princeps Principum*, or *Prælatus Prælatorum*, *Num.* 3. 32.

And all theſe under *Aaron* the * *higheſt*.

So that

1. *Aaron* was the *High Prieſt*.

2. Under him *Eleazar*; who as he had his peculiar charge to look unto, ſo was he * alſo generally to rule both *Ithamars* juriſdiction and his own.

3. Under him *Ithamar*, over two Families.

4. Under him the three Prelates.

5. Under each of them their ſeveral *Chief Fathers*, ראשי אבות as they are termed (*Exod.* 6. 25.) under *Elizaphan* Foure; under *Eliaſaph* two, under *Zuriel* two. *Num.* 3. 18. &c.

6. Under theſe the ſeveral perſons of their Kindred.

Note. This is here worth the noting, that albeit, it be granted that *Aaron* was the type of *Chriſt*, and ſo we forbear to take any argument from him, (yet *Eleazar*) who was no Type, nor ever ſo deemed by any Writer) will ſerve ſufficiently to ſhew ſuch *ſuperiority* as is pleaded for, that is *a perſonal Juriſdiction in one Man reſiant over the Heads or Rulers of divers charges* [in one *Kingdom* State or National Government, as here in *Iſrael* under *Moſes*, who was (as Kings now are) *cuſtos utriuſque tabulæ*, and took care of all matters *Civil* and *Eccleſiaſtical*.]

The

The Form of Government under JOSHUA.

THe Commonwealth being changed from the *Ambulatory* Form, into a *ſetled* Eſtate in the Citys of *Caanan*, as before the *Levites* were divided according to the ſeveral *Quarters* of the *Campe*, ſo now were they ſorted into the ſeveral *Territories* of the *Tribes*, ſo God commanded, *Num.* 35. 2. 8.

The Lot ſo fell, that the four partitions of the XII. *Tribes* were not the ſame, as when they camped before together, but after another ſort, for the Tribes of

1. *Juda*, *Simeon*, and *Benjamine* made the firſt
2. *Ephraim*, *Dan*, and *half the Tribe of Manaſſes*, the ſecond
3. *Izachar*, *Aſhur*, *Napthali*, and the other *half of Manaſſes*, the third
4. *Zebulun*, *Reuben*, *and Gad* the fourth

} Quarter.

Now in theſe Four,

1. The charge, or over-ſight of the *firſt* was committed to *Aaron* and his Family, and they had therein aſſigned to them XIII. Cities, in *Judah* and *Simeon* IX. and in *Benjamin* IV. (*Joſhua* 21. 10. *&c.*)

2. of the *ſecond* the care was committed to the Family of the *Cohathites*, and they had * therein aſſigned to them X. cities; in *Ephraim* IV. in *Dan.* IV. and in the *half of Manaſſes* II. (*Joſhua* 21. 20.)

3. The *third* was committed to the Family of *Gerſhon*, and they had therein aſſigned to them XIII. cities, in

in *Iſſachar* IV. in *Aſher* IV. in *Naphthali* III. in the other *half of Manaſſes* II. (*Joſhua* 21. 27.)

4. The overſight of the *fourth* partition was committed to the *Merarites*, and they had therein aſſigned to them XII. cities; in *Zebulun* IV. in *Reuben* IV. in *Gad* IV. (*Joſhua* 21. 34.)

Theſe were in all XLVIII cities, whereof the chief (as may appear) were cities ſet on *hills*, and all *ſcituate* in ſuch proportion of diſtance, as they moſt equally parted their Tribe among them, to perform unto them their duties of attendance and inſtruction.

Further, there were in *Joſhua*'s time added by decree of the Princes, the *Nethinims* of the people of *Gibeon* for the loweſt Miniſteries, and for the ſervice of the *Levites* (*Joſhua* 9. 27.)

So that now the order was thus.

1. *Eleazer.*
2. *Phineas.*
3. *Abiſa.*
4. The three *Neſiim.*
5. The *Raſe Aboth* (or *heads* of the *Families.*)
6. The *Levites.*
7. The *Nethinims.*

Note. If this *power* and *ſuperiority* was neceſſary, when all the people and Prieſts were within one Trench, even within the view of *Aarons eye*, much more in *Canaan*, when they were ſcattered abroad in *divers* cities *farre* diſtant, was the retaining of it more then neceſſary.

* Now the aboveſaid 48. *Cities of the Levites* were theſe,

In

In *Judah* and *Simeon IX. viz.* 2 Sam. 2. 3. Nehem. 11. 25.

" *Hebron, Libna, Jattir, Eſtitema, Holon, Debir, Ain, Jutta, Bethſhemeſh.*

In *Benjamin IV. viz.*

" *Gibeon, Geba, Anathoth,* Almon.

In *Ephraim IV. viz.* All this is writ with the Lord Primat *Ushers* own hand.

" *Sichem, Gezer, Kibraim, Beth-horon.*

In *Dan IV. viz.*

" *Eltekah, Tekoa, Gibethorn,* Aialon.

In the *half of Manaſſes II. viz.*

" *Taanach, Gathrimmon.*

In *Iſſachar IV. viz.*

" *Kiſhon, Dabera, Jarmath, Engamin.*

In *Aſer IV. viz.*

" *Miſhall,* Abdon, *Helka, Rehob.*

In *Nepthali III. viz.*

" *Kediſh Galilaæ, Itamoth Dor, Kiriathaim.*

In the *half of Manaſſes II. viz.*

" *Golan* Aſhtaroth.

In *Zabulon IV. viz.*

" *Jockmea, Karta, Dimna, Nahalal.*

In

In *Reuben IV. viz.*
" *Bezer, Jahaza, Kedimoth, Nephaath.*

In *Gad. IV. viz.*
2 Sam. 17. 24. *Ramoth Gilead, Mahanaim Heſhbon,* and *Jazer.*

The Forme of Government under DAVID.

Note. ALbeit under *Sauls* Government ſmall regard was had to the *Church*, yet *David* found at his coming a *Superiority* among them.

For beſides the *Prieſts*, he found ſix *Princes* or Rulers שרים over ſix families of the *Levites* (1. Chron. 15. 5, 6. &c.)

Uriel.	over	*Cohath.*
Aſaiah.		*Merari.*
Joel.		*Gerſhom.*
Shemaiah.		*Elizaphan.*
Eliel.		*Hebron.*
Aminadab.		*Uzziel.*

Likewiſe between the two Prieſts an *inequality*, the one *Abiathar*, attending the *Ark* at *Jeruſalem*: the higher Function, the other *Zadock*, the *Tabernacle* at *Gibeon* (2 Sam. 20. 25. 1 Chr 16. 37. 39.) But after the *Arke* was brought back, he ſet a moſt exquiſite Order among the *Levites*, and that by *Samuels* direction. 1. Chron. 9. 22. So that he is there reckoned as a new *Founder.*

Of

Of them he made six Orders, 1 Chron. 23.

1. *Priests.* כהנים	} 24000. *Vers.* 4.	
2. *Ministers of Priests.*		
3. *Judges.* שכשים.	} 6000. *Vers.* 4.	
4. *Officers.* שטרים.		
5. *Singers.* מתחללים.	} 4000	} *Vers.* 5.
6. *Porters.* שעלים.	} 4000	

1. Of *Priests*, *Zadock* was the Chief of the Family of *Eleazar*, and *Abimelech* the second of the Family of *Ithamar* (1 Chron. 24. 3.) 1 *Of Priests.*

* *Besides and under these* were *XXIIII* other Courses.

Of the Posterity of { *Eleazar.* XVI. / *Ithamar.* VIII. } 1 Chron. 24.4.

Which 24 are called in the 5. verse Rulers of the Sanctuary, and Rulers of the House of God, to whom it is thought by learned Interpreters, That the 24. Elders *Apoc.* 4. 4. have reference.

2. Of *Levites* that *ministred* to the *Priests* in their Function, likewise 24. *Courses*, out of the 9. Families the heads of whom are set down in the first of *Chron.* 23. 6. & 24. & 20. And the *Genealogy* of them is thus as followeth. 2 *Of Levites.*

All this was written with the L. Primats own hand.

Of

- *Cohath* 4.
  - *Amram.* { *Moses* { *Gershom.* { *Shubael.* { I. *Jehdeia.*
    - *Eleazar.* { *Rehabiah.* { II. *Eshiah*
  - *Izhar.* { *Shelomith.* { III. *Jahath.*
  - *Hebron.*
    - IIII. *Jeriah.*
    - V. *Amariah.*
    - VI. *Jahaziel.*
    - VII. *Jekameam.*
  - *Uzziel.* { *Micha.* { VIII. *Shamir.*
  - *Jesiah*, or *Isshiah.* } IX. *Zechariah.*
- *Gershom* 2.
  - *Laadan.* or *Libni.*
    - X. *Jehiel.*
    - XI. *Zetham.*
    - XII. *Joel.*
  - *Shimei*
    - XIII. *Shelomith.*
    - XIIII. *Haziel.*
    - XV. *Haran.*
    - XVI. *Jahath.*
    - XVII. *Ziza* or *Zina.*
    - XVIII. *Jeush* and *Beriah*, who were counted for one (1 Chr. 23. 11.)
- *Merari* 3.
  - *Mahli.*
    - *Eleazar.* (obiit sine filiis 1 Chr. 23. 22)
    - *Kish.* { XIX. *Jerahmeel.*
  - *Mushi*
    - XX. *Marli.*
    - XXI. *Eder.*
    - XXII. *Jerimoth.*
  - *Jehazia.* { *Beno.*
    - XXIII. *Shoham.*
    - XXIIII. *Zaccur.*
    - XXV. *Ibri.* *

1 Chron. 24. vers. 26, 27.

* IBRI the AUTHOR in his review and emendation shath in this place made this Querie.

* *It seemeth the first of these* Jedeiah *is to be omitted in the reckoning (as chief over them all) in respect of his generall superintendency over the rest.*

Seeing the Courses were but 24. why should IBRI 25. be reckoned Jedeiah was chief. Quer. Whether he was not to be connted one of the 24. because of his generall superintendency over the rest. This Querie seems to be resolved by the PRIMATE, and was the occasion of setting down the bove mentioned Genealogy.

III. Of

III. Of *Judges* that ſate for Cauſes as well of *God* as the *King* there were appointed 3 *Of Judges.*

1. On this ſide *Jordan* upwards towards the River *Aſhabiah* the *Hebronite* (1 *Chron.* 26. 30.)
2. On this ſide *Jordan* downwards towards the Sea *Chenaniah* the *Iſharite* (1 *Chron.* 26. 29.)
3. Beyond *Jordan* over the two Tribes and the half, *Jerijah* the chief of the *Hebronites* (1 *Chr.* 26. 31.)

IV. Of *Officers.* 4 *Of Officers.*

Scribes. *Shemajah* (1 Chron. 24. 6.) *Serajah* (2 Sam. 8. 17.) *Shevah* (2 Sam. 20. 25.)

Scribes of the *Levites* (1 Chron. 24. 6.) *Temple* (2 Kings 22. 3. Jerem. 36. 10.) *People* (Matt. 2. 4.) *King.* 2 Kings (12. 10.)

V. Of the *Singers*, likewiſe he ſet XXIV. *courſes*, over which he placed three *chief* out of the three families *Chro.* 15. 17. & 25. 2, 3, 4. 5 *Of Singers.*

Out of *Cohath*, *Heman Samuels* Nephew (1 *Chron.* 6. 33.) *Gerſhoni*, *Aſaph* (1 *Chron.* 6. 30. *Merari*, *Ethan*, or *Jeduthun* (1 *Chro.* 6. 44.)

Of theſe *Heman* was the *Chief* (1 *Chron.* 25. 5.)

Under theſe were divers others * (*Chron.* 15. 18.) משנה.

6. *Of Porters.* VI. Of *Porters* who were divided into the

- Keepers of the Watch of the Temple (*Matt.* 27. 65.) *Pſal.* 134. 1.) who were placed on each quarter of the Tabernacle (1 *Chr.* 26. 13. 14. *&c.*) On the
  - East ſide VI. over whom was *Shelemiah.*
  - South IV. (for the *Tabernacle* II. for *Aſſuppim*) over whom was *Obed-Edom.*
  - Weſt IV. over whō was *Hoſa.*
  - North IV. over whom was *Zechariah.*

Over all theſe it ſeemeth *Benajah*, the ſon of *Jehoiadah* the Prieſt was the chief (1 *Chron.* 27. 5.) *στρατηγὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς, the Captain of the Temple (*Acts* 4. 1.)

- Treaſurers for the
  - Revenues of the houſe of God (1 *Chr.* 26. 20.) *Cohath, Shebuel* of *Moſes, Gerſhon, Jehiel, Merari, Ahiah.*
  - Things dedicated by vow, *&c. Shelomith* (1 *Chr.* 26. 26.)

Officers and Judges. Over all the *Porters* was *Chenaniah* (1 *Chron.* 26, 29. 15. 22, 27.) It is to be remembred that beſides *Zadock* the *High-Prieſt*, and *Abimelech* (the ſecond) we find

find mention of *Haſhabiah* the ſonne of *Kemuel*, as chief of the whole Tribe (1 *Chro.* 27. 17.) ſo that there was

One over the Ark,	*Zadock.*
The ſecond over the Tabernacle,	*Ahimelech.*
The third over the Tribe.	*Haſhabiah.*
As over the	
Levits Miniſters,	*Febdaiah.*
Judges,	*Chaſabiah.*
Officers,	*Shemaiah.*
Singers,	*Heman.*
Porters,	*Chenaniah* or *Benaiah.*

Agreeable to this form we read, that under *Joſias* there were three * *Rulers of the Houſe of God*, that is *Hilkiah*, *Zachariah*, and *Jehiel* (2 *Chron.* 35. 8.) and that the Levites had over them *ſix* שרים (2 *Chron.* 35. 9.

Again under *Zedekiah*, that there were carried into Captivity *Seraiah* the Chief Prieſt, and *Zephaniah* the ſecond Prieſt (2 *King.* 25. 18.)

Likewiſe under *Ezekiah*, at the proviſion for the Levites portions, there were 10. * פקדים —— or *Overſeers* of the Levites : over whom was *Cononiah* the * *Chief*, and *Shimei* the * *Second* : And ſo *Kore* over voluntary Offerings; and ſix Levites under him (2 *Chro.* 31. 12, 13, *&c.*

The

The Form of Government under NEHEMIAH.

OF whom, and *Eſdras* it is recorded, that they did all according to *Moſes* inſtitution (*Ezra* 6. 18.) (*Nehemiah* 10. 34. 36.)

There was then { *Eliaſhib*, the * *High Prieſt* (Nehemiah 3. 1.) / *Seraiah*, the * *ruler of the houſe of God*. 11. 11) / *Zabdiel*, the * *Overſeer of the Prieſts*. 11. 14)

The *Courſes* were then but XXII (*Nehemiah* 12. 12.)

There was then { *Uzzi*, * *the Overſeer of the Levites* (Nehemiah 11. 22. / *Jezrahia*, * *the Oveſeer of the Singers* (Nehemiah 12. 42. / *Shallum*, *the chief of the Porters* (1 Chro. 9. 17.

Under *Zabdiel* at his hand { *Adaiah* / *Amaſai* } (*Nehem.* 11, *ver.* 12-13.)

Under *Uzzi* { *Shemaiah* / *Sabbethai* / *Jozabad* } (*Nehem.* 11. 15, 16.)

Under *Jezrahiah* { *Mattaniah* / *Bakbukiah* / *Abda* } (*Nehem.* 11. 17.

Under

Under *Shallum* { *Akkub.* } (1 *Chron.* 9. 17.)
{ *Talmon.* } (*Nehem.* 11. 19.)

So that there was

1. The *high-Prieſt*,
2. The *Second*, and *Third*, *Overſeers* of the Prieſts,
3. The *Princes* of the Prieſts * *Ezra* 8. 29.
4. The *Prieſts*.
5. The *Overſeer* of the Levites,
6. The *Princes* of the Levites,
7. The *Levites*,
8. The *Heads* of the *Nethinims*,
9. The *Nethinims* of { the *Gibeonites*, / *Solomons* Servant.

A brief Recapitulation of the Degrees obſerved under the Government of the Old Teſtament, with an accommodation thereof unto the New.

OUt of theſe we gather this Form to have been
I. *Moſes* in whom was the Supream Juriſdiction; to viſit *Aaron* (*Numb.* 3. 10.)

II. *Aaron* the *High Prieſt* (*Levit.* 21. 20. *Numb.* 35. 28. *Nehem.* 3. 1.)

head (2 *Cron.* 19-11.

Prince of the Houſe of God (2 *Chron.* 9. 11.)

III. *Eleazar* the *Second* (2 *King.* 25. 18.) as there *Zephaniah* is ſaid to be.

Prelate of Prelates (*Num.* 3. 22.)

Chief Overſeer, or *Biſhop* (*Jer.* 20. 1.)

At his hand *Ithamar*.

IV. *Prince of the Tribe* (1 *Chron.* 27. 17)

V. *Elizaphan*

V. *Elizaphan, Eliasaph, Zuriel.*
Prelates (*Num.* 3. 24 *&c.*)
Overseers or *Bishops* (*Nehem.* 11. 14. 22.)
c. 12. 32.

VI. *In* the XXIV. *courses* set by *David*;
The *Princes* of the *Priests*. *Ezra* 8. 29.

The house { Of God. / Of the Sanctuary. } { 1 *Chron.* 24. 5.

Elders of the *Priests*, *Jeremiah* 19. 1. (2 *Kings* 19. 2.)
Heads of the Families, (*Nehemiah* 12. 12.)
Chief Priests (Acts 19. 14.)

VII. The *Priests* themselves.
Whether at *Jerusalem*, or in the *Country* Towns
(2 *Chron.* 3. 19.)

VIII. The *Overseer* of the *Levites* (*Nehem.* 11. 22.)

IX. The *Princes* of the *Levites* (1 *Chron*, 15, 5,)
(2 *Chron*, 31, 12, and 35, 9,) *Nehem*, 12, 22,)

X. The *Head* of the *Levites Officers*. The *Scribe*, *
(2 *Chron.* 31. 13.)
* Of the *Singers*, (1 *Chron.* 16. 5.) *Nehem.* 12. 42.
Of the *Porters*, (1 *Chron.* 9. 17. and 15. 22.)
Of the *Treasurers*, (1 *Chron.* 26. 24. 2 *Chron.* 21. 11.)

XI. The *Levites* themselves.

XII. The *Chief* of the *Nethinims*, (*Nehem.* 11. 21.)

XIII. The *Nethinims* { *Gibeonites*, (*Josua* 9. 21.) / *Solomons servants*, (1 *King.* 9. 21. *Nehem.* 7. 60.)

It is not only requisite that things be *done*, but that they

they be diligently done, againſt ſloth, and that they be done *continually* and *conſtantly*, * *not for a time* (*againſt Schiſm, and if they be not, that redreſs may be had.*

To this end it is, that God appointeth *overſeers.*

1. To *urge* others if they be *ſlack*, (2 *Chron.* 24. 5. & 34. 12, 13.

2. To *keep* them in *courſe*, if they be *well*, 2 *Chron.* 29. 5. & 31. 12. & 34. 12, 13.

3. To *puniſh*, if any be *defective* (*Ferem.* 29. 26)

For which cauſe

A power of *commanding* was in the *High Prieſt* (2 *Chron.* 23. 8. & 18. & 24. 26. & 31. 13.

A power *Judicial*, if they tranſgreſſed (*Deut.* 17, 9. *Zach.* 3. 7. *Ezek.* 44. 24.)

Under *paine* of *death*, (*Deut.* 17. 12.)

Puniſhment in *priſon*, and in the *Stocks*, (*Jer.* 29. 26. in the *Gate of Benjamin*, (*Jer.* 20. 2.)

Officers to Cite and Arreſt. (*John* 7. 32. *Acts* 5. 18.) This *Corporal.*

To *ſuſpend* from the Function, *Ezra* 2. 62.

To excommunicate, *Ezra* 10. 8. *John* 9. 22. & 12. 42, 16. 2. This *Spiritual.*

1. *Why may not the like now be for the Government of the Chriſtian Church.*

There is alledged on only ſtop. That the *High Prieſts* was a *Figure of Chriſt*, who being now come in the fleſh, the Figure ceaſeth, and no Argument thence to be drawn.

Anſw. There is no neceſsity we ſhould preſs *Aaron*, for *Eleazar* being *Princeps principum*, that is, having a *Superior* "Authority over the *Superiors* of the Levites in *Aarons*

This anſwer I find ordered by the Author to be thus put inſtead of that which had been in a former copy.

"life time, was never by any in this point reputed a "*Type* of *Chriſt*, ſo that though *Aaron* be accounted "ſuch, yet *Eleazar* will ſerve our purpoſe. As alſo the (*2 Chron.* 35, 8.) We read of three at once, one only, of which was *the High-Prieſt*, and a *Type* of *Chriſt*, the reſt were not, let them then anſwer to the *other* twaine, who were *Rulers, or chief over the Houſe of God.*

This alſo the Author hath added to be put unto the former anſwer

Thus we grant, that *Aaron* and the *High Prieſts* after him were *Types* of *Chriſt*, and that *Chriſt* at his death ended that Type; yet affirm, that *Eleazar* being *Prælatus Prælatorum*, governing and directing the *Eccleſiaſtical* perſons under him, and being ſubject to *Moſes* was not any Type of Chriſt; further we ſay, that the Twelve *Apoſtles* as ſo many ſeveral *Eleazars* under Chriſt, were in the Primitive times ſent to *ſeveral Coaſts* of the world to govern, direct and teach *Eccleſiaſtical* perſons and people in their ſeveral Diviſions. We ſay alſo that many *Primates* now, as ſo many *Eleazars* under Chriſt, and in ſeveral Kingdoms and States of the world, to govern, direct, and teach *Eccleſiaſtical perſons*, and people in their ſeveral diviſions; and yet be under and reſponſible to *Chriſtian Princes* and States, who have the chief charge of matters both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical.

Object. If it be further alledged, that *Eleazar* and all *Sacrificing* Prieſts (*quatenus* Sacrificers) were Types of Chriſt, who ſacrificed himſelf for us, and put an end to all Sacrifices typing himſelf.

Anſw. *Anſw. This we grant, and further* ſay, that the Popiſh ſacrificing *Prieſts, Office and other performance* in this regard, is utterly unlawful and ſinful. But the other Imployments of *Eleazar, viz.* His *Governing, Directing* and

and *teaching* both the Eccleſiaſtical perſons and the people, were not *typical* nor *ended*, but are ſtill of uſe, for the *Apoſtles* practiced the ſame; ſo have their *Succeſſors* to theſe very days. And that this is moſt true, the *Preſbyterial Claſſes* cannot but grant; for this very *Authority over Miniſters* and people, they uſe, and therefore judg it not *Typical*.

Beſides St. *Paul* appearing before one, but a weak reſemblance of the old High Prieſt, yielded him *obedience*, and acknowledged him a Governor of the people, which had been meerly *unlawful*, if there had not remained in him ſomething not Typical, and not made to *ceaſe* by Chriſt.

Hence we ſee the *Anabaptiſts* ſhifts to be vain and groſs, when they ſay we ought to have no *Wars*, for the *Jews* wars were but Figures of our *ſpiritual battle*; *No Magiſtrates*, for the Jews Magiſtrates were but Figures of our Paſtors, Doctors and Deacons; and as no Magiſtrates, ſo no *Oaths*, pretending theſe to be aboliſhed by Chriſt. *Anſw.* As in the *Prieſts* Office there were ſome things *not* Typical, nor ended: So Kings, *Types of Chriſt*, in ſomthing only prefigured, and Typed him. In many things their Office is ſtill of ſingular uſe, for they become *Nurſing Fathers of the Church* and provide that we may live a *peaceable life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*. The lawfull uſe of Wars and Oaths hath been often vindicated.

If the *Pope* here claim authority over all the *world*, as *Eleazar* over all his brethren, his Plea is *groundleſs, wicked and inſolent*. For, firſt, each chief Biſhop in any Kingdom, muſt be ſubject to the King, as *Aaron* and *Eleazar* to *Moſes*. 2. The *Apoſtles* ſent into ſeveral

Kingdoms of the World were all of *equal* power; no one had Authority *above* the reſt in their line, or diviſion, which ſhews that no *Primate* ought to be of Authority over any *other* Primate under a ſeveral Prince. But each *Primate* ſubject to *Chriſt* as *Eleazar* to *Aaron*, and each *Primate* ſubject to his ſeveral King. As *Eleazar* to *Moſes*.

2. *Why it may be.*

I. Out of *Dic. Eccleſiæ*, the *New Reformers* tell us, we are to fetch our pattern from the Jewiſh *Sanhedrim* therefore it ſeems they are of opinion, that one Form may ſerve both *us* and *them*.

II. Except there ſhould be ſuch a faſhion of *government*, conſiſting of *inequality*. I ſee not in the new Teſtament, how any could *periſh in that contradiction of Core*, which St *Jude* affirmeth, for his *plea* was for *equalitie*; *and againſt the preferring of Aaron above the reſt*.

III. The *Ancient Fathers*, ſeem to be of mind, that the ſame Form ſhould ſerve both.

So thinketh St. *Cyprian* lib. 3. epiſt. 9. ad *Rogatianum*.

So St *Hierome*. *Epiſt*. 85. *Ad Evagrium*, *traditiones Apoſtolicæ ſumptæ ſunt de veteri Teſtamento*, *& ad Nepotianum*: *de vita Clericorum*.

So St. *Leo*. *Ita veteris Teſtamenti Sacramenta diſtinxit*, *ut quedam ex iis*, *ſicut erant condita*, *Evangelicæ eruditioni profutura decerperet*, *ut quæ dudum fuerant conſuetudines Judaicæ*, *fierent obſervantiæ Chriſtianæ*.

So *Rabanus*, *ut de inſtitutione Clericorum* (lib. 1. c. 6.)

They

They ground this their opinion upon that they ſee

I. That the *Synagogue* is called a *Type*, or *Shadow*, and [*an image of the Church now* Heb. 10. verſ. 1.]

II. That God himſelf ſaith of the *Chriſtian Church*, under the *Gentiles* that he will *take of the Gentiles, and make them Prieſts and Levites to himſelf* (Eſa. 66. 22.) there calling our *Presbyters* and *Deacons* by thoſe *Legall* names.

III. That there is an Agreemen in the

Numbers { XII. Numb. 1. 16. and Luk. 9. 8.
LXX. Numb. 11. 16. and Luk. 10. 1.

Names { *Angell*, Mal. 2. 7. and Rev. 1. 10.

		Answerable unto	
Degreers	*Aaron.*		*Chriſt.*
	Eleazar.		*Archbiſhops.*
	Princes of Prieſts.		*Biſhops.*
	Prieſts.		*Presbyters.*
	Princes of Levites		*Archdeacons.*
	Levites.		*Deacons.*
	Nethinims.		*Clerks & Sextons.*

* *And their often enterchange, and indifferent uſing of Prieſt or Presbyter: Levite or Deacon, ſheweth They preſumed a Correſpondence, and Agreement between them.*

The

The FORM OF Church Government, In the NEW TESTAMENT.

And first in the days of our Saviour Christ.

1. THE whole Miniſtrie of the *New Teſtament* was at the firſt inveſted in *Chriſt alone.*

He is termed our
- *Apoſtle* (Heb. 3. 1.)
- *Prophet.* (Deut. 18. 15. Act. 3. 22.)
- *Evangeliſt* (Eſa. 41. 27.)
- *Biſhop* and * *Paſtor* (1 Pet. 2. 25.)
- *Doctor* (Mat. 23. 10.)
- *Deacon.* (Rom. 15. 8.)

II. When

II. When the *Harveſt* was *great* (Mat. 9. 38.) that his Perſonall preſence could not attend all, he took unto him XII. as the XII. *Patriarchs* or XII. *Fountains*, as St *Jerome*, or the XII. Princes of the Tribes (*Num.* 1.) Exod. 14. 27. Numb. 33. 9.

Gathering his Diſciples	Mat. 10. 1.
Chooſing out of them.	Luke 6. 13.
Whom he would	Mark. 3. 13.
He called them to him.	Luke 6. 13.
Made them.	Mark 3. 13.
Named them Apoſtles.	Luke 6. 13.

Theſe he *began to ſend* (Mark 6. 7.)
Gave them in charge (Matt. 10. 1. and 11. 1.)
To preach the Goſpel (Luke 9. 2.)
To heal (Matt. 10. 1. Luke 9. 2.)
To caſt out Devils (Matt. 10. 1.)
Gave them *Power*,
To take maintenance (Matt. 10. 10. Luke 9. 2.)
To ſhake off the duſt, for a witneſs (Matt. 10. 14.)
So *he ſent them* (Matt. 10. 5. Luke 9. 1.)
They *went and preached* (Luke 9. 6.)
They *returned and made relation*,

What they had { *Done* / *Taught* } Mark. 6. 30.

III. After this, when the *Harveſt* grew ſo *great*, as that the XII. ſufficed not all, *Luke* 10. 1, 2. he *took unto him other* LXX. as the 70. *Palm trees*, *Num.* 33. 9. the *Fathers of Families*, *Gen.* 46. the *Elders*, *Num.* 11.

Theſe

Theſe he

Declared, (*Luke* 10. 1.)

Sent by two and two into every City and place whether he himſelf would come, ibid.

Gave them power, as to the *Apoſtle*, to

Take maintenance, Luke 10 7.

Shake off duſt, Luke 10. 11.

Heal the ſick, *Preach*, } (Luke 10. 19.)

Tread upon ſerpents and ſcorpions, and over all the power of the Enemy (Luke 10. 19.)

Theſe *two* Orders (as I think) St. *Paul Epheſ.* 3. 5. doth comprehend under the name of *Apoſtles* and *Prophets*, by the LXX. underſtanding *Prophets*, as whereſoever they are both mentioned together, next to the *Apoſtles* he placeth *Prophets* (1 *Corinth.* 12. 28. *Eph.* 4. 11.)

None of the Fathers ever doubted, that theſe two were two ſeveral Orders or *Sorts*, nor that the Apoſtles were ſuperior to the LXX.

It appeareth alſo that (the *Apoſtles*) had in them power to forbid to preach, *Luke* 9. 49. and that *Matthias* was exalted from the other order to the *Apoſtleſhip*.

This was then the Order while *Chriſt* was upon the earth.

I. *Chriſt* himſelf.

II. The XII. were ſent to all Nations. Their ſucceſſors were *Biſhops* placed and ſetled in *ſeveral* Nations.

III. The

III. The LXX. were sent by *Christ* to the *particular* Cities of the Jewes, to prepare them for *Christ*, with his *Apostles* comming to them. Their Successors were *Presbyters* placed in particular Cities and Towns by the *Apostles*, that they might prepare the hearts of many Christians for the receipt and employment of an *Angel* or *Bishop* over the severall Presbyters.

IV. The faithfull people, or Disciples, of whom 500. and more are mentioned in (1 *Corinth.* 15. 6.) * *though at the time of the electing of* Matthias, *and the Holy Ghost's descending, there were but CXX. present* (Acts 1. 15.)

The Form of Government used in the time of the APOSTLES.

ALbeit *Christ* saith, the people were as *Sheep* without a *Shepheard* (*Mat.* 9. 38.) yet he termeth his Apostles *Harvest-men*, not *Shepheards*; for while he was in person on earth, himself only was the *Shepheard*. And they but *Arietes Gregis*, but at his departure he maketh them *Shepheards* (*John.* 21. 15.) as they likewise others at theirs (1 *Pet.* 5. 2. *Acts* 28.)

Of the APOSTLES *themselves, and first of their names.*

Shelicha, which is the *Syrian* name, was the title of certain *Legats* or *Commissioners* sent from the *High-Priest*, to visit the *Jews* and their *Synagogues*, which

were dispersed in other Countries, with authority to redress things amiss.

Ἀπόστολοι, among the *Greeks* were οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς των τριηρων ἀποδεδειχμένοι, into *Delphos*, an Office of great credit, as by *Herodotus* and *Demosthenes* appeareth.

Secondly of their form what it is.

Not to have been with *Christ* all his life time, *Acts* 1. 21. so were others more.

Not to be sent immediately of *Christ*, *Gal.* 1. 1. so were the LXX. (*Luke* 10.)

Not to be limitted to one place (*Matt.* 28. 19.) so were others, *Luke* 24. 33. 50.

Not to be inspired of God, so that they did not erre, so were *Mark* and *Luke*.

Not to plant Churches, so did *Phillip the Evangelist* (*Acts* 8. 5.)

Not to work signes and Miracles: So did *Stephen.* (*Acts.* 6. 8.) and *Philip* (*Acts* 8. 6.)

But over and above these, or with these that emnient *authority* or *jurisdiction* which they had over all, not only *joyntly* together, but every one * *severally* by himself.

I. Of *Imposing hands* in { *Ordination* (Acts 6. 6.) *Confirmation* (Acts 8. 17. 18.)

II. Of *Commanding* (the word of the *Bench Acts* 4. 18. & 5. 28.

Of *Cæsars*, *Acts* 18. 2.)

The word of Gods command, 1 *Cor.* 9. 14. 1 *Thess.* 4. 11. 2 *Thess.* 3. 6. 12.

Of *Christs Acts* 1. 2, 4.

Of

[Of the *Prophets*, *Acts* 5. 32.
Of the *Apoſtles Phil.* 8.
The Apoſtles ordained matters in *Churches*, 1 *Cor.* 7. 17. & 11. 34.
The Commandments of the Apoſtles of Chriſt the Lord are to be kept 1 *Cor.* 14. 37. 2 *Pet.* 3. 2.]

III. Of *Countermanding* (*Luke* 9. 49. *Acts.* 15. 24. 1 *Tim.* 2. 12.)

IV. Of *Cenſuring*, { *Virga* 1 *Cor.* 4. 21. 2 *Cor.* 13. 10. / *Gladius*, *Gal.* 5. 12. / *Tradendi Satanæ*, 1. *Cor.* 5. 5. 11. 1 *Tim.* 1. 20. / *Claves*, *Matt.* 16. 19. *Sit tibi* with 18. 18. and *John* 20. 23.)

In this *power* it is, that the *Biſhops* ſucceed the *Apoſtles*, 1. *Iren. lib.* 3. *cap.* 3. 2. *Tertul. de præſcript.* 3. 3. *Cyprian ad Florent.* 3. 9. 4. *Epiphan. Hæreſ.* 27. *Romæ fuerunt primi* Petrus & Paulus *Apoſtoli* idem ac *Epiſcopi*. 2. *Chryſoſt. in Act.* 3. *Jacobus Epiſcopus fuit Hieroſolimæ.* 6. *Hieronym. Epiſt.* 85. & 54. *ad Marcellam de Montano*, & *de ſcriptoribus*, *Eccleſiaſt. in Petro & Jacobo.* 7. *Ambroſe in* 1 *Corinth.* 11. (*de Angelis*) & *in Eph.* 4. (*Apoſtoli Epiſcopi ſunt*).

Of Deacons.

At the beginning the whole weight of the Churches affairs lay upon the *Apoſtles*.

The *Diſtribution* { As well of the *Sacrament* (Act 2. 42.) / As of the *Oblations* (Acts 4. 35)

The *Ordination* (Acts 6. 6.)
The *Government* (Acts 5. 3.)

But upon occasion of the *Greeks* complaint whose *Widdows* were not duly regarded in the *daily ministration*, which was as well of the *Sacrament* as of the *Oblations*, otherwise the *Apostles* would not have left out (the mention of) the Sacrament in *Act.* 6. 4. They transferred that part upon the 7. *Deacons* whom they ordained for distribution of the Sacrament, not for *Consecration.* * *For that the Deacons dealt not only with alms, 'tis acknowledged by all the Primitive Church.*

The supposed *Author* in his advertisments concerning this passage, saith, *This I know not well what way to make more clear.*

Justin Apolog. 2. *Ignatius ad Heron. Tertull. de Baptismo, Cyprian de Lapsis, & lib.* 3. *epist.* 9. *Chrysost. hom.* 83. *in. Matth. Hieron. epist.* 48. *ad Sabinam, & contra Lucifer. Ambr. Offic. lib.* 1. *c.* 41. *Greg.* 4. 88. *Concil. Nicæn.* 1 *Can.* 14. 1 *Tim.* 3. 12.

Of Evangelists.

Upon occasion of the scattering of the Disciples, by means of the persecution after the death of St. *Stephen* * grew διέλευσις εὐαγγελιζόντων (*Acts* 8. 4. & 11. 19.) of which number St. *Phillip* is reckoned (*Acts* 8. 21.) and divers others *Acts* 11. 19, 20. of whom *Eusebius* maketh mention *lib.* 3. *cap.* 37. and *lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

Upon these was transferred that part of the *Apostles* function which consisted in *preaching* from place to place.

Electio per sortes, Acts 1. 10.
Per populi suffragia, Acts 6. 6.
Per spiritum sanctum, Act. 13. 2.

The supposed *Author* in his Advertisments put this out here, saying [*This I thought might better make a chapter of it self: See* infra, *the last chapter of all.*]

When

of Prieſts.

When the Church was in ſome ſort planted by the preaching of the *Apoſtles*, *Prophets* and *Evangeliſts*, that they might continually be watered, and have a ſtanding attendance, the *Apoſtles* ordained them *Prieſts* by impoſition of hands in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. & 11.30. & 21.18. And they made choice of the word πρεσβυτερος, rather then of the word ἱερευς more in uſe with the *Greeks*, becauſe it includeth an *Embaſſie*, and that chiefly of *reconcilation*, which is the μινιστερια expreſſed by St. *Paul in* 2 *Cor.* 5. 20. with *Luke* 14. 32. [and thence they were called Presbyters.]

of Biſhops.

Laſt of all, that the Churches thus planted and watered might ſo continue, the *Apoſtles* ordained *Overſeers* to have a generall care over the Churches, inſtead of themſelves, who had firſt had the ſame, which is called ἐπισκοπη, *Acts* 15. 36. and containeth in it, as a *ſtrengthening* or *eſtabliſhing* in that which is already well (*Acts* 14. 22. & 15.41. *Rev.* 3.2.) ſo a *rectifying* or *redreſſing* if ought be defective or amiſs, *Tit.* 1. 5.

Theſe are called by the *Apoſtles*, *Acts* 20. 28. ποιμενες in the *Syrrian*, that is *Epiſcopi*, by St. *John Rev.* 1. 20. *the Angels of the Churches.* Theſe were ſet over others both to *rule* and *teach*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 17. 1 *Pet.* 5. 2.

Upon theſe was transferred the chief part of the *Apoſtolick* function.

The

The *overſight* of the Church.

The power of { *commanding*, *correcting*, *ordaining*,

The occaſion which cauſed the *Apoſtles* to appoint *Biſhops* (*beſides the pattern ſet by Gods Ordinance in the time of the Law*) ſeemeth to have been *Schiſms*, ſuch as were in the Churches of

Rome, Rom. 16. 17.
Corinth, 1 Cor. 1. 11. *and* 3. 3, 4.
Galatia, Gall. 5. 12.
Epheſus, Eph. 4. 2, 3.
Philippi, Phil. 4. 2.
Coloſsi, Col. 3. 13.
Theſſalonica, 2 Theſſ. 3. 11.
The *Hebrews*, Heb. 13. 9. James 3. 1.

For which St. *Cyprian*, S. *Jerome*, and all the *Fathers* take the reſpect to *one Governor*, to be an eſpeciall remedy (for which alſo ſee *Calvin. Inſtit. lib.* 4. *cap.* 4. 8. 2.)

This power even in the *Apoſtles* time was neceſſary, for God chargeth not his Church with ſuperfluous burdens, yet had they ſuch *graces* (as power of *healing*, doing *ſignes*, ſundry *languages*, *&c.* that they of all other might ſeem beſt able to want it; for by theſe *graces* they purchaſed both *admiration* and *terrour* ſufficient for crediting of their bare word, in the whole Church.

Acts 5. 5. 15. 13. 11. 19. 2. 1. 16. 46. Acts 14. 11. 8. 13. 5. 11. 13.

If neceſſary then in their times that were ſo furniſhed, much

much more in the Ages enſuing, when all theſe extraordinary *graces* ceaſed, and no means but it, to keep things in order. So that were it not apparent to have been in the *Apoſtles* times, yet the neceſsity of the times following, deſtitute of theſe helps, might enforce it.

Seeing then God hath no leſs care for the *propagation* and *continuance* of his Church, then for the firſt *ſettling* or *planting* of it, *Eph.* 4. 13. it muſt needs follow, that the power was not *perſonal* in the *Apoſtles*, as tyed to them only, but a power given to the *Church*, and in them for their times reſident, but not ending with them as *temporary*, but common to the ages after, and continuing, to whom it was more needfull then to them) to repreſs Schiſm, and to remedy other abuſes.

So that the very ſame power at this day remaineth in the *Church*, and ſhall to the worlds end.

Of the PERSONS * *(that executed theſe Offices.*

I. Albeit the *Commiſsion* were generall over all *Nations*, which was given to the XII. yet was that generality only by *permiſsion*, not expreſly *mandatory*. Elſe ſhould they have ſinned, that went not through all *Nations*.

Therefore howſoever the *Commiſsion* was to all *Nations*, yet was it left to their *diſcretion* how, and in what ſort they would diſpoſe themſelves, as the Holy Ghoſt ſhould direct them.

Therefore that *partition Gal.* 2. 9. betwixt St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* was lawfull and good, and no wayes derogatory to *ite prædicate, Goe teach all Nations.*

Further the *Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtory* doth teſtifie, that they

they parted the Coasts and Countries of the world among them by common advice, and so *sundred* themselves.

Peter to *Pontus, Galatia, Capadocia.*
John to *Asia, Parthia.*
Andrew to *Cythia, Pontus, Euxinus* & *Bizantium.*
Phillip to *Upper Asia*, unto *Hierapolis.*
Thomas to *Indi*a, *Persia*, and the *Magi.*
Bartholomew to *Armenia, Lycaonia, India citerior.*
Mathew to (*Ethiopia.*)
Simeon to *Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt, Afrique, Britany.*
Thaddeus to *Arabia, Idumea, Mesopotamia.*
Matthias to *Ethiopia.* Soc. 1. 15.

2. Again albeit their preaching was for the most *ambulatory*; yet do the same *Histories* witness that having setled Religion, and brought the Church to some stay, towards their end, they betook themselves to residence in some one place, divers of them, as

St *James* at *Jerusalem* (*Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 1. Epiphan. Haref. 66. Chrysost. in Act. 15. Hierom. Chrysost.* in *Acts* 15.

St. John at *Ephesus*, Euseb. 3. 26. *Tertul.* lib. 4. contra Marcion. Hierom.

St. Peter first at *Antioch*, and after at *Rome.*

Which places were more specially accounted their *Sees*, and the *Churches* themselves after a more special manner were called *Apostolick.*

Sedes Apostolorum. August in Epist. 42.
Ecclesiæ Apostolicæ. Tertullian.

3. It

3. It is alſo plain, that the *Apoſtles* * while they lived choſe unto them as *Helpers* (συνεργοὺς) divers who were companions with them in their Journies miniſtred unto them, and ſupplyed their abſences in divers Churches, when they were occaſioned * *themſelves* to depart.

Such were.

* *Andronicus* (Rom. 16. 17.)
Apollos (Acts 19. 1.) 1 Cor. 3. 6.
Aquila (Rom. 16. 3.)
Archippus Phil. 2. (Col. 4. 17.)
Ariſtarchus (Acts 20. 4.)
Clemens (Phil. 3. 4.)
Creſcence (2 Tim. 4. 10.)
Demetrius (3 John 12.)
Epaphras (Col. 4. 12. &c. 1. 7. & Philem. 24.)
Epaphroditus (Phil. 2. 23.)
Epenetus (Rom. 16. 5.)
Braſtus (Acts 19. 22.)
Gajus (Acts 20. 4.)
Jeſus Juſtus (Col. 4. 11.)
John Marke (Acts 13. 5. & 15. 37. &c. *Philem.* 24.)
Lucas (Philem. 24. *Col.* 4. 14.
Secundus (Act. 20. 4.)
Silvanus (1 Pet. 5. 12.) (1 Theſ. 1. 2. 2 Theſ. 1. 1.)
Sopater (Acts 20. 4.)
Soſithenes (1 Cor. 1. 1.)
* *Stachys* (Rom. 6. 9.)
Stephanus (1 Cor. 16. 15.
* *Tertius* (Rom. 16. 22.)
Timothens (Acts 19. 22. & 20. 4.)
Titus (2 Cor. 8. 23.)
Trophimus (Acts 20. 4.)
Tychicus (Acts 20. 4.)
* Col. 4. 7.
Urbanus (Rom. 16. 9.)

Of whom *Euſebius*, lib. 3. Hiſt. cap. 4. *Euthymius* in tertium Johannis. *Iſydorus* de patrib. *Derothei* Synopſis.

* To these, as namely to *Timothy* and *Titus* (two of these) one at *Ephesus*, the other in *Crete*, *Euseb. lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. The *Apostles* imparted their own Commission while they yet lived; even the chief Authority they had.

To *appoint Priests*, Titus 1. 5. & Hieron. in eum locum.

To *ordain them* by laying on of hands, 1 *Tim.* 5. 22. 2 *Tim.* 2. 2.

To keep safe and preserve the *Depositum*, 1 *Tim.* 6. 14. 20. 1 *Tim.* 1. 14.

To *command not to teach other things*, 1. *Tim.* 1. 3. *Titus* 3. 9. 2 *Tim.* 2. 16.

To *receive accusations*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. 21.

To *redress* or *correct* things amiss, *Titus* 1. 5.

To reject young *Widdows*, 1 *Tim.* 5. 11.

To censure *Heretick*s, and *disordered* persons, *Titus* 2. 11. *and* 3. 10. 1 *Tim.* 6. 5. 2 *Tim.* 3. 5.

And these after the *Apostles* deceased, succeeded them in their charge of Government, which was Ordinary, Successive, and perpetual. Their extraordinary gifts of *Miracles* and *Tongues* ceasing with them. So *Irenæus* lib. 3. cap. 3. *Quos & successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum Magisterii tradentes.*

Of the promiscuous use of their Names.

These were they whom posterity called *Bishops*, but in the beginning regard was not had to distinction of *Names*, the *Authority and power* was ever distinct

ſtinct, the Name *not* reſtrained either in *this* or *others*.

The *Apoſtles* called

Prieſts, or *Seniors* 1 Pet. 5. 1.
Deacons or *Miniſters* 1 Cor. 3. 5.
Teachers or *Doctors* 1 Tim. 2. 7.
Biſhops or *Overſeers* Acts 1. 20.
Prophets Acts 13. 1 Rev. 22. 9.
Evangeliſts 1 Cor. 9. 16. 9.

The *name* of *Apoſtle* was enlarged and made common to more then the XII.

To *Barnabas* Act. 14. 4. 14.
Andronicus Rom. 16. 7.
Epaphroditus Phil. 2. 25.
Titus and others 2 Cor. 8. 23.
Timothy (Hierom. in Cantic. Chro. Euſeb.)

The *Prieſts* were called

Prophets (1 Cor. 14. 32.
Biſhops Phil. 1. 4. *Titus* 1. 7.

So *Chryſoſt.* in Phil. 1. *Quid hoc? an unius civitatis multi erant Epiſcopi, nequaquam ſed Presbyteros iſto nomine appellavit, tunc enim nomina adhuc erant communia.*

Hierom. *Hic Epiſcopos, Presbyteros intelligimus; non enim in una urbe plures* Epiſcopi *eſſe potuiſſent.*

Theodoret. * *Ne fieri quidem poterat, ut multi Epiſcopi eſſent unius civitatis paſtores, quo fit ut eſſent Presbyteri quos vocavit Epiſcopos.* Et in 1 Tim. 3. *Eoſdem olim vocabant Epiſcopos & Presbyteros; eos autem qui nunc vocantur Epiſcopi, nominabant Apoſtolos.*

Oecumenius: *Non quod in una civitate multi essent Episcopi, sed Episcopos vocat Presbyteros, tunc enim nominibus--- adhuc communicabant.*

For in the *Apostles* absence in Churches new planted, the oversight was in them, till the Apostles ordained, and sent them a *Bishop*, either by reason of some *Schisme*, or for other causes.

The *Bishops* as the Ecclesiastical History recounteth them, were called,

Apostles	Phil. 2. 25.
Evangelists	2 Tim. 4. 5.
Deacons	1 Tim. 4. 6.
Priests	1 Tim. 4. 17.

For it is plain by the Epistle of *Irenaeus* to *Victor* in *Eusebius* lib. 5, cap. 25. that they at the beginning were called *Priests*, that in very truth, and propriety of Speech were indeed *Byshops*, and by *Theodoret*, Phil. 2. 25. That they that were *Bishops* were at first called *Apostles*.

The name (Ἐπίσκοποι) saith *Suidas* was given by the *Athenians* to them, which were sent to Oversee the cities that were under their Jurisdiction, Οἱ παρ' ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ἐπηκόους πολεῖς ἐπισκεψασθαι τὸ παρ' ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι ἐπισκόποι καὶ φυλαικὲς ἐκαλοῦντο, *Suid.* in Ἐπίσκοπος [*Rodigin.* 18. 3.]

The name *Episcopus* was given among the *Romans* to him *qui praeerat pansi, & vœnalibus ad victum quotidianum F. de muneribus & honoribus*, Cicero *ad Atticum lib.* 7. *Epist.* 10. *vult me Pompeius esse quem tota hac Campania, & maritima ora habeat Episcopum.*

The name in Hebrew פקוח *Gen.* 41. 34. seemeth

eth to have relation to the second use, for they were such as had charge of the grain, laying up and selling under *Joseph*.

The use of the BISHOPS *Office, and the charge committed to him.*

The *party*, who in the *New* Testament is called *Episcopus*, is in the *Old*, called נגיד the *Office* in the *New* Ἐπισκοπὴ, 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. in the old פקדה *Psalm.* 109. 8. with *Acts* 1. 20.

In a House or Family it is affirmed of *Joseph*, *Gen.* 39. 4. who had the oversight and government of the rest of the Servants.

In a *House* there be many Servants which have places of *charge* * *Matt.* 25. 14. but there is one that hath the *charge* of *all* * *Luk.* 12. 42. that is *Oeconomus* the *Steward*.

So doe the *Apostles* term themselves, 1 *Cor.* 4. 1.

And their Office Οἰκονομίαν, 1 *Cor.* 9. 17.

And their successors the *Bishops*, *Tit.* 1. 7. 9.

Vide Hilar. in Matt. 24. 45.

In a *Flock* the *Pastor*, *John* 21. 15. *Acts* 20. 28. *Matt.* 25. 32. 1. *Pet.* 3. 2. *Eph.* 4. 11.

In a *Camp*, * the Captain ἡγούμενος, *Matt.* 2. 6. *Heb.* 13. 7. 17. 24. *Vid. Hieron. Epist.* 4. *ad rusticum. c.* 6. *Et Epist. ad Evag. ium.*

In a Ship the Governor * κυβερνήτης, 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. under whom there are * ναῦται, *Acts* 13. 5.

In the *Common-wealth* they be such as are set over *Officers*, to hasten them forward, and so they doe their duties, as in 2 *Chron.* 34. 13. & 31. 13. *Nehemiah* 11. 22. & 12. 42.

So

So that what a *Steward* is in a *House*,
A *Pastour* in a *Flock*,
A *Captain* in a *Campe*,
A *Master* in a *Ship*,
A *Surveyor* in an *Office*,
That is a *Bishop* in the *Ministery*.

Upon him lieth first * (μερίμνα) the care of the Churches under him, 2 *Cor.* 11. 28. *Phil.* 2. * *Concil. Antiochen. can.* 9. * *Act.* 9. 32. & 15. 36. (and to be observant.)

* Φροντίς.
* προμηθεία. *Theodoret*,

* II. Διελευσίς, the visiting of them, *Acts* 9. 32. & 15. 16.

* And in both these
I. Επιστηρίγμος (*Tikkun*) * the confirming of that which is well and orderly *Acts* 15. 41. *Rev*, 3. 2.
II. Επιβιόρθωσις (*Manatseach*) the redressing which is otherwise (*Tit.* 1. 5.)

To him was committed principally

I. Authority of *Ordaining*, *Tit.* 1. 5. and so of begetting *Fathers*, *Epipha. Hæres.* 75. See *Ambros. Theodoret* and *Oecumenius* in 1 *Tim.* 3. *Damasus Epist.* 3. *Jerome Epist.* 85. *ad Evagr. Leo Epist.* 88. *Concil. Ancyran. Can.* 12. *al.* 13.

For though St. *Paul* should mention a Company * *together* (a) with him at the Ordaining of *Timothy*, 1 *Tim.* 4. 14. yet it followeth not but that he only was * the *Ordainer*. No more, then that *Christ* is the only *Judge*, although the XII. shall sit with him on *Thrones*, *Luke* 20. 30.

(a) μετὰ ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου. (b) διὰ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν μου, 2 Tim. 1. 6.

II. Au-

II. Authority of *enjoyning* or *forbidding*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. *Ignatius ad Magnesia, Cyprian Epist.* 39.

III. Authority of holding *Courts*, and receiving *accusations* 1 *Tim.* 5. 19. 1 *Cor.* 5. 12. *Revel.* 2. & *Augustin. de opere Monachor. cap.* 24.

IV. Authority of *Correcting*, 1 *Tim.* 1. 3. *Hieron. Epiſcopalis Tit.* 1. 5. *Hieron. contra Lucifer cap.* 4. & *Epiſt.* 53. *ad Riparium*, *Cyprian Epiſt.* 38. *ad Rogatianum.*

V. Authority of Appointing *Faſts. Tertullian adverſus Pſychicos.*

The Choice of perſons to their calling.

[1. The *Apoſtles* were immediately called by *Chriſt.*

2. For the calling of *Matthias* the Apoſtle *Peter* gave direction; two perſons were propounded by the 120. the chief and conſtant diſciples of Chriſt, but he was deſigned to his place by a *ſacred Lot.*

3. Some were *choſen* and appointed to their callings by the *Holy Ghoſt*, *Acts* 11. 12. *Acts* 13. 2. *Acts* 8. 29. *Acts* 20. 28. This is added by the ſuppoſed Author.

4. In choice of the *Seven Deacons* who were credited with the proviſion for ſuch as wanted, the multitude of the *Chief*, and conſtant *Diſciples* of Chriſt, and the Apoſtles who were contributers of the ſame, preſent 7. perſons, the *Apoſtles ordain* them *Deacons.*

5. The *Apoſtles* choſe to themſelves *Helpers*, *fellow-Servants* of Chriſt, *fellow-Souldiers*, and the like, *Acts* 15. 5. *Rom.* 16. 9. 2 *Cor.* 8. 23. *Coll.* 4. 7. *Tit.* 1. 5. So *Timothy* well reported of is taken by *Paul*, *Act.* 16. 2. 3.

The

6. The *Apostles* chose such as were their *Attendants*, or *Ministers*, and sent them to severall Churches and People, *Acts* 19. 22. 2 *Tim.* 4. 10. 12. 2 *Cor.* 12. 17. 1 *Thess.* 3. 2. and left some to *abide* in Churches where was need of their help. *Tit.* 1. 5. *Col.* 20. *Acts* 18. 19. 1 *Tim.* 1. 3.]

A LET-

A Letter of Dr. *Hadrianus Saravia*, to the Miniſters of the Iſle of *Garnſay*; written in French and tranſlated into Engliſh.

Grace and Peace from Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.

GEntlemen and wel-beloved Brethren in the Lord, my calling doth oblige me to procure the good and the true edification of the Churches of Chriſt Jeſus, and chiefly of thoſe which I have formerly had to doe with as their Miniſter; ſuch are thoſe of the Iſlands, where I was one of the firſt, and know which were the beginnings, and by which means and occaſions the preaching of Gods word was planted there. But you hold now (to my thinking) a courſe quite contrary to that which we have held. All the favour we then obtained was through the *Biſhops* means, and without them I dare confidently aſſure you, that you will obtain nothing of what you look for. In the beginning there was no other Reformation in the Iſlands then that common throughout the whole Kingdome of *England*. The *Prieſts* which a little before had ſung Maſs, became ſuddenly Proteſtants; but yet

not one of them was appointed to preach the word of God. They were but ignorant blockheads, continuing still in heart and affection Papists, and enemies to the Gospel. Now such as were sincerely affected to the Gospel, prevailed so far as that they obtained Ministers, with whom the Priests could not agree: they retained their Service, and the Ministers preached, and had the exercise of Religion asunder, following the order of the Churches of *France*. In those beginings at the pursuit of Mr. *John After*, Dean, I was sent by my Lords of the Councell to the Islands, as well in regard of the School that was newly erected, as to be a Minister there.

At that time the Bishop of *Constance* was sent Ambasadour from the French King to Queen *Elizabeth*, from whom, and from her Councell he obtained Letters to the Governors of the Islands, whereby they were enjoyned to yeild unto him all authority and right, which he pretended did belong unto him, as being the true Bishop of the Islands. But how this blow as was warded let your Fathers tell you. Upon this occasion the Bishop of *Winchester* (as their true *Bishop*) took upon him the protection of the Churches of both Islands, representing to the *Queen*, and unto her Councel, that of old the Islands did belong to his Bishoprick, and that he had ancient Records for it; yea an Excommunication from the *Pope* against the Bishop of *Constance*, whenever he would challenge any Episcopall Jurisdiction over the Islands. So through the means of the said Bishop, and Mr. *John After*, Dean, two places only were priviledged of my Lords of the Councell, St. *Peeter-haven* for *Garnzay*, and St. *Helier* for *Farnsay*, with prohibition to innovate in ought in the other Parishes

rishes. Then were the Court and Chapter of the Bishop held, which afterwards were suppresst, how, by whom, and by what authority, I know not: I fear the Authors have run themselves into *Præmunires* (if *præmunires* have power within the Islands) The Consistories, Classes and Synods of Ministers have succeeded them, yet without any Episcopall Jurisdiction. Now so it is, that your Islands want Episcopall Courts for proving of Wills, for Divorces, and Marriages, and for the Tythes which are causes, and Actions, Ecclesiasticall, and have so been these 600. years and upwards, as well under the Dukes of *Normandy*, as the Kings of *England*. The Reformation and change of Religion hath altered nothing; neither is there any one that hath power or authority to transferre the said causes to any other Judges then to the *Bishop*, but the *Kings* Majesty: so that your Civil Magistrates have nothing to doe with such causes; if they meddle with them 'tis usurpation. The *French* Ministers are so rash as to say, that the Bishops of *England* have usurpt this Jurisdiction, and that it belongeth not unto them, because it is Civil, making no difference between what some *Bishops* have heretofore usurpt, & what the *King* and Soveraign Magistrates have freely given (for certain reasons moving them thereunto) and conferred upon *Bishops*; therefore though the matter be civill, yet can they not be held for usurpers. Truly the present state and condition of the Kingdom of *England* doth bely such slanderers of our Bishops. I fear that your Magistrates being seasoned with this Doctrine, have carried themselves in this point more licentiously then the Laws of this Kingdome and of their Islands will warrant them. I pass o-

ver the debates that might be made upon this matter, as a thing impertinent in the place and government under which we live. I conſider the ſtate of *England*, and that of the Iſlands, and the dignity of Biſhops, and the condition of the other Miniſters of the Church, ſuch as it is at this day. In *Scotland* for the time preſent the State hath otherwiſe provided, but not in *England*, and therefore ye ought not to take example by them, as though your State were like theirs. I hear that your Governor hath taken order about Wills, and appointed one to prove them. But I cannot conceive how that may be done without Epiſcopal Juriſdiction conferred by the Biſhop. Your Governour I know hath power to preſent to the Biſhop a man proper to execute this authority of the Biſhop in his name. Likewiſe the Governor as Patron of the Churches and Pariſhes of his Government, upon the vacancy of any living, ought to preſent by ſuch a time a man well qualified to ſucceed in the Office of a Paſtour, but the admiſſion and induction of ſuch a charge, belongs to your Biſhop, and to no body elſe. If I be well informed, you obſerve nothing of all this: which if it be ſo, you'l never be able to juſtifie it. The example of the *French* Churches, and of the *Low-Countries* doe you no good. Your caſe is quite another: They have Laws from their Soveraigns, and particular places for themſelves, but all that you doe is contrary to the Laws and Ordinance of the King your Soveraign. You hold Synodicall meetings, wherein you make Statutes about the Government of the Church, unto which you bind your ſelves and the reſt that are naturall Subjects to the King: wherein you (unſenſibly derogate from his authority.

The

The Synods of the Arch-biſhops and Biſhops, together with the reſt of the Clergy of this Realm dare not preſume that which you doe, nor attribute to their Canons and Statutes what you attribute to yours. Yet the Aſſembly of Biſhops and of their Clergie, is of men far otherwiſe qualified then ſome dozen of the Miniſters of your Iſlands to judge and diſcern what belongs to the edification of the Church; their Decrees nevertheleſs are of no authority to tye unto them thoſe of this Realm, till the *King*, yea in his own perſon, have approved them, and by Proclamation made them his: There is no body in his Realm, nor in any of his Dominions that hath power to enact Laws and Decrees but himſelf: The *Parliaments* authority is great, but without the Kings aſſent nothing takes the rigour of Law. I know very vell, that at the perſwaſion of the Miniſters, your Governours and others that were preſent to your Synods, have ſubſcribed and acknowledged your Synodicall Acts, they did it even in my time: but their power doth not ſtretch ſo far. That may bring a greater prejudice to themſelves, then give force of Eccleſiaſticall Law to your Decrees. I doe not think that his Majeſty being well informed will grant unto your Miniſters or Governours of your Iſlands ſuch authority: They will be more pernicious to you then youthink. You'l alledge me, I know, your Priviledges; but I dare boldly anſwer you, that you never had any ſuch priviledges: I have read them, and have the copies of them; and they ſay, that in matters Civil you ſhall be governed by the ancient *Couſtumier* of *Normandy*, and that you are not ſubject to the Statutes of the Parliament in ſuch matters, nor to the Subſidies, other charges

charges and impoſitions that are raiſed in *England*, except (which God forbid ever ſhould come to paſs) the King were detained Priſoner by the Enemy. In matters Eccleſiaſticall you are freed from the Biſhop of *Conſtance*, and under that of *Wincheſter*, yea even of old by the *Popes* authority and conſent of the two Kings, from whom alſo in part, your neutrality in times of warre is approved, excommunicating all ſuch as would moleſt you. Ye cannot ſhew concerning your priviledges, but only what is renewed as often as there is a new King. And for the Patent which you ſay you have procured from his Majeſty for matters of Religion; *Firſt*, it is in generall terms, and without any clauſe derogating from the authority of your *Biſhops*. *Secondly*, it it be queſtioned, it may be told you, that it was ſurreptitious, and granted you before the King was well informed of the buſineſs. To conclude you muſt underſtand that in matters of Religion the Kings Majeſty will doe nothing without the counſell and advice of the *Arch-biſhop* and your Biſhop of *Wincheſter*; wherefore you may doe well to inſinuate your ſelves in their favour, and conform your ſelves to them, as we have done in the beginning. You may reduce the Decrees of the Church of *England*, and the uſe of the book of prayers to a good and Chriſtian Diſcipline, farre more ſolid, and better grounded then that for which ye ſo earneſtly beſtirre your ſelves.

I muſt addone word more which will be hard of digeſtion. This is it, that you may be upbraided, that as many Miniſters that are naturall of the Country, being not made Miniſters of the Church by your Biſhop, nor by his Demiſſories, nor by any other according to the order of

of the *Engliſh* Church, you are not true and lawfull Miniſters. Likewiſe that as many among you as have not taken inſtitution and induction into your Pariſhes from the Biſhop, nor from his Subſtitute lawfully ordained and authoriſed ſo to doe, ye are come in by intruſion and uſurpation of cure of Souls, which no body could give you but your Biſhop, that is, in terms and words Evangelicall, that you are not come into the *Sheep-fold by the door*, but by elſewhere, and that by the Eccleſiaſtical Laws you are excommunicants and Schiſmaticks. I know well enough you do not regard ſuch Laws, and think that your Priviledges will exempt you from them, wherein you greatly deceive your ſelves. For a man may tell you, who are yee that would have your Eccleſiaſtical Decrees made by Private Authority, to have force of Laws, and dare ſcorn and reject thoſe of the Engliſh Church, made by Publick Authority, by farre honeſter men, greater Scholars (without compariſon) more learned, and farre more in number then you are? The Kings Majeſty by his Royall authority hath approved *them*, this Realm hath received *them*. But what are your Synodall Decrees? who be the Authors of them, and who be they that have approved them? 'Tis winkt at, and your ignorance is born with, but think not, that that which is born in you be any ſuch thing as vertue. Your Priviledges do not ſtretch ſo far as that you may make Eccleſiaſticall Decrees: Had it been ſo, the Prieſts had retained Maſs and Poperie: In that you hold a contrary courſe to that of the Engliſh Church whereof you are and muſt be (if you be Engliſhmen) Members, it proceeds from nothing elſe but from the connivence and indulgence

gence of your Governors, who have given too much credit to the French Ministers, and partly in the beginning, to the stubbornes of the Papists of the Islands. When your Governors shall have a liking to the *English* Reformation, then will they make you leave the *French* Reformation: You sail against wind and tyde; you think that the Governors you shall have hereafter will be like Sir *Tho. Layton*, you are deceived. Though this day you had compassed your wish, to morrow or the next day after, at your Governors pleasure, all shall be marred again.

Finally, the Ecclesiasticall Government which you aske, hath no ground at all upon Gods word. 'Tis altogether unknown to the Fathers, who in matter of Christian Discipline, and censure of manners, were more zealous and precise then we are. But you cannot, of all the learned and pious antiquity, shew one example of the Discipline or Ecclesiasticall order, which you hold, as your *Bishop* in his book of the *perpetuall government of the Sonne of Gods Church*, doth learnedly teach. I pass over what I have my self written concerning it in my book, *De diversis Ministrorum gradibus*, and in my Defence against the Answer of Mr. *Beza*, and more largely in my Confutation of his book *De triplici genere Episcoporum*. I cannot wonder enough at the *Scotchmen*, who could be perswaded to abolish and reject the state of Bishops, by reasons so ill grounded, partly false, partly of no moment at all, and altogether unworthy a man of such fame. If the Scots had not more sought after the temporal means of Bishops, then after true Reformation, never had Mr. *Beza's* Book perswaded them to do what they have

have done. And I aſſure you, that your opinion concerning the government of the Church, ſeems plauſible unto great men, but for two reaſons, the one is to *prey* upon the goods of the Church, the other for to keep it under, the Revenues and authority of Biſhops being once taken away. For the form of your diſcipline is ſuch, that it will never be approved of by a wiſe and diſcreet ſupreme Magiſtrate, who knows how to govern. Ye ſee not the faults you commit in your proceedings as well Conſiſtoriall as Synodals, men well verſed in the Lawes, and in government do obſerve them. But they contemn them ſo long as they have the law in their own hands, and that it is far eaſier for them to fruſtrate them, & regard neither Conſiſtorie nor Synodes, then for you to command and make Decrees. Were your Diſcipline armed with power, as the Inquiſition of *Spain* is, it would ſurpaſs it in tyranny. The Epiſcopall authority is Canonical, that is, ſo limitted and encloſed within the bounds of the *Statutes* and *Canons* [of the Church] that it can command nothing without Law, much leſs contrary to Law. And the Biſhop is but the Keeper of the Lawes, to cauſe them to be obſerved, and to puniſh the tranſgreſſors of your Conſiſtories and Synodes. For the preſent I will ſay no more, only take notice of this, that it is not likely the King who knows what Conſiſtories and Synodes be, will grant that to the Iſlands which doth diſpleaſe him in *Scotland*. This, Gentlemen and Brethren, have I thought good to write vnto you, intreating you to take it well, as comming from him that loves the Iſlands, and the good and edification of the Church of Chriſt, as much as you can doe.

Upon this occasion I have thought fit to add thus much concerning Dr. Hadrianus Saravia.

HIs *learning* is sufficiently known by his *works*, his judgement in relation to the *Liturgy* and Discipline of the Church of *England* is declared by this *Letter*, which doth further appear by his *Subscriptions* following.

1. In *Queen Elizabeth's* time the form required was in these words, *We whose names are here underwritten, do Declare and unfainedly Testify our assent to all and singular the Articles of Religion, and the Confession of the true Christian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments comprized in a book imprinted, intituled Articles, whereupon it was agreed by the Arch-bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the whole Clergy in the Convocation holden at* London *in the year of our Lord God* 1562. *according to the computation of the Church of* England, *for the avoiding of the diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of Consent touching true Religion, put forth by the Queens Authority. And in testimony of such our Assents we have hereunto subscribed our names, with our own proper hands, as hereafter followeth.*

Unto this Doctor *Hadrianus de Saravia* (the sixth Prebend of the Church of *Canterbury* being conferred upon him) subscribes in these words: *Per me* Hadrianum de Saravia *Sacra Theologia Professorem, cui sexta Prebenda in Ecclesia Cathedrali Christi* Cantuarien. *conferenda est sexto Decembris* 1595.

Wherein I find he did immediately succeed Doctor *Whitaker*, whose Subscription is in these words, *viz. Per me* Gulielmum Whitaker *sacra Theologia Doctorem ejusdem-*

ejuſdemque Profeſſorem Regium in Academia Cantabrigienſi, *cui ſexta Prebenda in Eccleſia Cathedrali Chriſti* Cantuarenſ. *conferenda eſt, Decimo Maii* 1595.

According unto which I find Mr. *John Dod* of *Hanwell* in *Oxfordſhire* (who wrot upon the *Commandements*) to have ſubſcribed in theſe words: *Per me* Johannem Dod, *in Artibus Magiſtrum præſentatum ad Eccleſiam de* Hanwell Oxon. *Dioceſ.* 28. *Julii* 1585. unto whom abundance more (and about that time) might be added Mr. *Richard Rogers*, Doctor *Reynolds* of *Oxford*, *&c.* among whom it pleaſed me to find the hand of the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Hooker* thus ſubſcribing: *Per me* Richardum Hooker *Clericum in Artibus Magiſtrum præſentatum ad Canonicatum et Prebendam de* Neather-haven *in Eccleſia Cathedrali* Sarum. 17. *Julii* 1591.

2. In King *James*'s time, and ſince, the form of the Subſcription was thus, To the three Articles mentioned in the 36. Chapter of the Book of Canons.

Firſt, that the Kings Majeſty under God is the only ſupreme Governor of this Realm, and of all other his Highneſs Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spirituall or Eccleſiaſticall things or Cauſes as Temporall, and that no foraign Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State or Potentate hath or ought to have any Juriſdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority Eccleſiaſticall or Spirituall within his Majeſties ſaid Realms, Dominions and Territories. 1.

That the Book of Common Prayer and of Ordering of Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully ſo be uſed, and that he himſelf will uſe the form in the ſaid book 2.

prescribed in publick prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and none other.

3. *That he alloweth the book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the Clergy in the Convocation holden at* London *in the year of our Lord, One thousand five hundred sixty and two. And that he acknowledgeth all and every the Articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty besides the Ratification to be agreeable to the word of God.*

To these three Articles, Doctor *Hadrianus de Saravia* being instituted unto the Rectory of *Great Chart* in the Diocess of *Canterbury anno* 1609. subscribes in these words. *Ego* Hadrianus de Saravia *Sacræ Theologiæ Professor, cui Ecclesia Parochialis de Chart a magna* Cantuar. *Dioces. conferenda est, his tribus Articulis supra scriptis, & omnibus & singulis in iisdem contentis, lubens & ex animo subscribo, vicesimo quinto die Mensis Februarii, Anno Dom. juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,* 1609. Hadr. de Saravia.

According unto which in succeeding years I find very many of our reverend Divines, famous in their times for *Learning* and *Piety* have subscribed also, which would be needless here to mention, in regard their judgments are sufficiently known that way: Only there are some other *learned* men, and of a pious *estimation* (whom the vulgar possibly have misapprehended) I have thought fit to doe them that right, as to vindicate them in it, having found them there as fully and heartily subscribing also: Each of which being various in some expressions I have put them down distinctly.

Mr.

Mr. *Nicholas Bifeild* (whoſe many pious works hath made him famous) ſubſcribes in theſe words: *Mart. ult.* 1615. *Ego* Nicholaus Bifeild *verbi divini Prædicator, admittendus & inſtituendus ad vicariam de* Iſleworth *in Comitatu* Middleſex, *hiſce tribus Articulis & omnibus in iiſdem contentis, libenter & ex animo ſubſcribo.*

Mr. *Jeremiah Dike* of *Epping* in *Eſſex*, (an able and conſtant Preacher, and of great eſteem in his time) ſubſcribes thus: *Mart.* 21. *anno* 1609. *Ego* Jeremiah Dike *in Artibus Magiſter legitime præſentatus ad Vicariam de* Epping *in* Eſſex, *his tribus Articulis ſupra Scriptis, & omnibus in iiſdem contentis, lubens, & ex animo ſubſcribo.* Which two I find ſubſcribing accordingly twice.

Mr. *Daniel Caudery.*

April. 25. 1616. *Ego* Daniel Caudery *in artibus Magiſter admiſſus ad docendam Grammaticam in Eccleſia Parochia de* Berkin *in Comitatu* Eſſexiæ, *his tribus articulis, & omnibus, in iiſdem contentis, libenter & ex animo, non coactus, ſubſcribo.*

Mr. *William Fenkyn.*

Jan. 2. 1640. *Ego* Gulielmus *Fenkyn Clericus in Artibus Magiſter, jam admittendus, & inſtituendus, ad & in Rectoriam ſancti* Leonardi *in vico* Colceſtriæ *in Comitatu* Eſſexiæ, *hiſce tribus articulis præſcriptis, antea a me lectis, & omnibus, in iiſdem contentis, libenter & ex animo, ſubſcribo.*

Guil. Jenkyn.

Mr. *Calamy.*

Novemb. 9. 1637. *Ego* Edm. Calamy *ſacræ Theologiæ*

gia Bacch. jam admittendus & instituendus, ad & in Rectoriam de Rochford *in Comitatu* Essexiæ, *hisce tribus articulis præscriptis antea a me lectis, & omnibus in iisdem contentis, libenter & ex animo, subscribo.*

Edm. Calamy.

And what is here *subscribed* as to the book of *Common-prayer*, was heretofore (to my own knowledge) as diligently *attended* by persons of the like eminency being so farre from absenting themselves, that they were carefull to come to the beginning of it. And it is also as fully defended by Mr. *Hildersham* in his 26. Lecture upon *cap.* 24. of St. *John*) (a man of as much learning and piety as any before mentioned) to be *according to Gods institution, Ordinance and Commandement*; which in another Treatise I have more largely declared (with the testimonies of divers others.) And in his 27. and 29. Lect. exhorts unto *kneeling* at it, and being *bareheaded* even at the *reading of the Psalms and Chapters*, as of the rest of Divine Service, defends the custome of our Church therein, *as well becomming every one of Gods people to conform themselves unto it.*

In the view of the *Registry* of Subscriptions of later years, I find that till the year 1641. all subscribed as abovesaid, and continued it, to the *Articles of Religion*, though with several expressions and provisoes,

In an. 1643. thus, *Tertio Articulo præscripto, &c.* or thus, *Articulis Religionis præscriptis juxta formam statuti in eodem Casu editi, & provisi, i. e.* To the Articles of Religion before written, according to the form of a Statute (or Ordinance) in that case provided and published.

In

In 1644. the form was thus, *Articulis Religionis Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ juxta formam Statuti in ea parte editi, &c.* quatenus non regugnant fœderi Nationali, *&c. i. e.* To the Articles of Religion of the Church of *England, &c. as far as they are not repugnant to the* National Covenant, *&c.* And about 1646. thus: *Salvo fœdere Nationali,*

Then about *Octob.* 1648. that clauſe was left out (there being it ſeems in the *Covenant* ſomewhat contradicting that horrid Act intended unto the late *King* of *bleſſed Memory*) and the form was then only *Articulis Religionis Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ,* and ſo continued till this late happy change of Government, when the ſubſcriptions returned to the firſt form.

A POSTSCRIPT.

One thing more in relation to the *Lord Primate Uſher,* There hath been a Pamphlet of late revived which had been printed before in his name, intituled *The Biſhop of Armaghs Direction to the Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Epiſcopal Government, &c.* againſt which, as himſelf had declared in his *life* time, ſo have I ſince his *death,* to be a falſe fictitious Paper; yet notwithſtanding it is reprinted, and ſold up and down as his, and accordingly produced at this day, by many upon all occaſions to his great injury.

For the further clearing of which let the *Reader* take notice that in *Anno,* 1640. when it came firſt out, the *Primate* petitioned the Houſe of *Commons* for the ſuppreſſing of it; upon which this *Order* was conceived as followeth.

An

There was one called *Vox Hybernia*, published in his name, for the suppressing of which he had an Order from the *House of Peers*.

An Order of the Commons-House of *Parliament*, for the suppressing of * *another* Pamphlet falsely fathered upon the said Arch-bishop of *Armagh*, *Die Martis 9. Feb.* 1640.

Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by James Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland, *that a certain* Pamphlet *hath been lately most injuriously fathered upon him, and spread under the false title of* the Bishop of *Armaghs* Direction to the House of Parliament concerning the Liturgy and Episcopall Government. *It is this day Ordered in the Commons House of Parliament, that the Master and Company of Stationers, and all others whom it may concern, shall take such course for the* suppressing *of the said Book, that they shall not suffer it to be put in Print; or if it be already Printed, not permit the same to be divulged; and if any man shall presume to print or publish the Book above mentioned, that he or they shall be then lyable to the* Censure *of the said House.*

H. Elsyng Cler. Dom. Com.

FINIS.